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A VISIT TO THE INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO,

IN H. M. SHIP MÆANDER.

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369

WITH

PORTIONS OF THE PRIVATE JOURNAL OF SIR JAMES BROOKE, K.C.B.

BY

CAPT^N. THE HON. HENRY KEPPEL, R.N.

1809-1904

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS BY OSWALD W. BRIERLEY.

"Where things familiar cease, and strange begin."

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.



LONDON :
RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET;
Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty.

MDCCLXIII.

LONDON:
BRAUBURY AND EVANS, PRINTERS, WHITEFRIARS.

TO SIR JAMES BROOKE, K.C.B.,
RAJAH OF SARAWAK.

MY DEAR BROOKE,

Dedications are, I believe, still in fashion; and if so, many considerations decide me to assign this conspicuous position to your name. If it be in any measure a compliment, there is none to whom I would rather offer it. If it be a way of letting the world know that one has a worthy friend, you are the man. If it be a mode of drawing more attention to one's work than its own merits would secure, or of bespeaking more indulgence for the sake of the patron than its unprotected demerits would find—yours is still the name to which I would trust.

I have one other reason; namely, that four or five chapters of my book are really devoted to a vindication, which certainly you do not need, but which I could not shun to offer, without turning out of the direct course of duty and of pleasure. Accept it according to its intention rather than its ability; and believe me,

My dear Brooke,

Your sincere friend,

HENRY KEPPEL.

DUXFORD, Dec. 11, 1852.

PREFACE.

I WAS considering how to excuse myself for writing a book, when my eye fell upon an old edition of Lord Bacon's works, of which the illustrated title-page suggests an excellent apology for nautical authors. It represents a ship sailing into port ; and under it is this Scripture text in Latin, " Many shall run to and fro, and *knowledge shall be increased.*" Certain it is that " they that go down to the sea in ships, and occupy their business in great waters, these men see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep." I believe that the profession, to which I have the honour to belong, *has* increased useful knowledge more than all other professions, and that it may still do so. Let sailors simply tell what they have *seen* and can *testify* ; each storing up his share of authentic information when he finds himself

" Where things familiar cease, and strange begin,"

and none such need apologise for the books they write.

The phenomena of Nature ; the phases of society civilised, and semi-civilised, and barbarous ; its manners, customs, and peculiarities ; the productions, animate and inanimate, of all climes : the *world*, in short, seen everywhere, and faithfully reported just as it is, affording thus food for the sublimest and for the simplest studies,—this is, at least in time of peace, a worthy department of the sailor's mission.

I do not say that we are all to print, whether we see anything or not ; but that a sailor, actively employed, can hardly escape from an “increasing knowledge,” on subjects new to those at home, which qualifies him for a very useful kind of authorship.

My “VISIT TO THE INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO” has grown out of this principle. I hope the perusal of it may reflect on the reader some portion of that information or amusement, which I owe to it or to the days to which it takes me back.

A word is necessary upon one particular subject, which occupies four or five chapters of this book,—more space than I had thought of assigning to it ; but it grew under the pen ; and of all parts I feel that this needs the least

apology, except for its imperfect execution. The subject is Sir James Brooke : and the intention is to vindicate that excellent man from calumny. This task, though almost superfluous, offered itself so directly in my course, that I could not turn from it. Many of my observations have been doubtless better made by abler defenders of my friend ; but there is some new *matter* ; and I have drawn upon no extraneous source for *opinions*, which I have had superior opportunities of forming for myself. I commend my facts to the attention of the reader ; my reasonings to his impartiality ; and all inadvertent errors to his “gentleness.”

HENRY KEPPEL.

DUXFORD, Dec. 11, 1852.

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ERRATUM.



Page 260, line 8, for "Alfred," read "Edgar."

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A VISIT
TO
THE INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO.

CHAPTER I.

MEAUNDER SELECTED TO TAKE OUT GOVERNOR BROOKE TO LABUAN—DEPARTURE FROM SPITHEAD—MADEIRA—RIO DE JANEIRO—GREAT CIRCLE SAILING—PRINCE EDWARD'S AND CROZET'S ISLANDS—STRAITS OF SUNDA—BEST COURSE FOR A QUICK PASSAGE—ARRIVAL AT SINGAPORE—NOTICE OF ITS FIRST ESTABLISHMENT—INVESTITURE OF GOVERNOR BROOKE AS K.C.B.—TIGERS—WATER-BUFFALOES.

As soon as it was decided that Mr. Brooke was to go out as Governor of Labuan, Lord Auckland, with his usual kindness and consideration, concluded that an old friend acquainted with the locality, and feeling an interest in Bornean affairs, might be of more assistance in forming the new settlement than a stranger; I was in consequence, on the 1st of November, 1847, appointed to the *Meander*, 44 guns, at Chatham. She was quickly and well manned, and would have sailed at the end of

December so as to meet the Governor early in April at Singapore ; his intention having been to leave England in February, by the overland route. Mr. Brooke had, however, obtained the appointment of Lieutenant-Governor for Mr. William Napier, a gentleman who, from long residence as a proctor at Singapore, was well acquainted with the intricacies of our treaties with the Netherlands Government respecting the Eastern Archipelago.

It was decided that the passage by sea in a man-of-war would be more convenient than the route overland, for the conveyance of the Lieutenant-Governor's family ; and he having much to arrange with his chief, which might easily be done during the voyage, they decided on going together. A passage was applied for and ordered accordingly.

The main-deck guns, as far forward as the main-mast, were dismounted ; the ports fitted as windows, and the deck divided into cabins ; the *Mæander* had then the appearance of one of Mr. Green's fine Indiamen, without however pretending to their accommodation.

The confusion on board even an Indiaman expressly fitted for passengers is generally bad enough ; but in a man-of-war, where every inch of space has been pre-occupied, the holds containing no more than the provisions necessary for so large a body of men, the extra demand for stowage which was not fairly to be had crammed our lower deck up to the beams with luggage, turned the men

out of their proper berths, and caused a degree of discomfort not to be described.

On the 24th January we arrived at Spithead ; and, having embarked our passengers, we sailed on the evening of the 1st February. The weather was such as is usually experienced in the Channel at this season of the year, so that we had the disadvantage of at once plunging into a head sea ; and, before we had got abreast of the Eddystone, it blew hard from the westward : we thought it advisable to run into Plymouth Sound, and secure things in the places into which they had been just shaken ; we sailed on the 6th, and again took shelter on the 10th in Cork Harbour, our passengers suffering considerably.

Sailed from Cork on the 15th.

After our full share of bad weather, we were no sorry to arrive at Madeira on the 23rd. Our party were entertained with the usual hospitality of that island. Her Majesty the Queen Dowager was at this time residing there for the benefit of her health, and she had caused her munificent charity to be felt throughout the island.

The day after our arrival, His Serene Highness the Duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar, attended by his sons, the Princes Edward and Herman, with Lord Northland, Major de Winton, and a large party, paid the *Maeander* a visit.

We sailed on the 26th. The incidents of a sea voyage are seldom interesting to any but the party concerned. On crossing the equator, the usual ceremony was

performed ; and the presence of passengers imparted to it an unusual degree of excitement.

On the 24th we arrived at Rio de Janeiro, which we found as dirty as ever, with the slave trade in full vigour. A few months afterwards the philanthropic and enduring exertions of the British Government, seemed to have finally triumphed, and this vile traffic to have received its death-blow ; but we find it still attempting to struggle into a new existence.

Among the men-of-war lying here we were glad to see the *Comus*, Commander D'Eynecourt, showing no symptoms of having been some weeks at the bottom of the muddy Rio de la Plata. May the time be far distant when a British officer shall despair of saving what by others might be given up as a lost affair ! Besides the *Comet*, we have the splendid example of the *Gorgon* steam-frigate, recovered in almost the same locality. The circumstances just differed sufficiently to make each instance remarkable on its peculiar grounds ; the former vessel was as far under water as the latter was above the usual level of the river.

March 28th, sailed from Rio Harbour. On the principle of great circle sailing, we continued to make southing, until we were in the 56th deg. of east longitude, by which time we had attained the 48th of south latitude.

On the 19th April we made Prince Edward's Island, the summits of whose mountains were covered with snow :

on the following night, according to the chart, we ought in the course we were taking, to have passed between the Crozet Islands, but we saw them not.

On the 13th May we entered the Straits of Sunda, forty-seven days from Rio.

Having made an equally quick passage six years previously in the *Dido*, beating five men-of-war who kept the old track by St. Paul's and Amsterdam, I can safely recommend the one by which we sailed as the most expeditious, though perhaps not the most agreeable route; we had much cold and unpleasant weather, with the thermometer frequently below 40 deg. On comparing the track of the *Dido* with that of the *Mæander* for the last 7000 miles, I find that the distances between the position of the two ships at noon on each day never exceeded 100 miles.

On the 27th April, John Wallis, a fine young man, twenty-four years of age, fell overboard from the main-topsail yard: the ship was running fast through the water, and the ship's company at breakfast. While lowering the quarter-boats to succour him, Lieutenant Comber, ever foremost in any such case, fell over the stern of the second cutter: the sea had closed over poor Wallis before a boat could reach him, and Comber was with difficulty picked up in an exhausted state. While he was in the water, we observed several huge specimens of the albatross pass over him, and so close that he felt the tips of their wings sweep his face. Felicia Hemans must have

seen some one in the like predicament before she wrote what so exactly describes our sensations :

“ Be still, thou sea bird, with thy clang ing ery ;
My spirit sickens as thy wing sweeps by.”

Attacks from these enormous gulls are not unusual. In 1830, when the *Seringapatam* frigate was on her way to Valparaiso, after rounding Cape Horn, and being under close-reefed topsails, a man fell overboard : he was unable to swim, but was fortunate in getting hold of the life-buoy, to which he clung ; but he had scarcely time to congratulate himself on his good luck, before he was assailed by an unlooked-for enemy in the albatross, who seemed to consider him as their immediate property. A tap on the head from one of their beaks might have finished poor Jack’s career ; but, terrified at their formidable appearance and equivocal intentions, he attempted to defend himself with his shoe ; this, without much difficulty, they had just torn from his grasp, when the boat arrived to his rescue.

Wallis was a general favourite, and the ship’s company requested they might be allowed to send a day’s pay to his widowed mother, who was entirely dependent on him for support.*

On the 20th May we arrived at Singapore, after an excellent passage of three months and five days, including stoppages at Madeira and Rio.

* The acknowledgment, with grateful thanks, from poor Mrs. Wallis, I received a few months afterwards, in a letter dictated from her death-bed.







Here we received the intelligence of another revolution in France, the proclamation of the Republic, and of Louis Philippe being a refugee in England.

We found Commodore Plumridge's broad pennant flying on board the *Cambrian*: the late commander-in-chief, Admiral Inglefield, having died at Bombay.

On the 22nd our passengers landed, Mr. Brooke being received with all the honours due to a governor; and on the following day preparations were commenced for establishing the new colony. An office was opened in Singapore, and contracts received for the frame-works of the temporary residences to be erected for the Government functionaries.

On the banks of a small stream—the rendezvous, until 1819, of only a few Malay trading prahus—now stands the rich and extensive town of Singapore. By no act of his life did Sir Stamford Raffles manifest greater discernment and foresight, than by founding this settlement. In 1824, five years after its first establishment, the population amounted to 11,000, “the magical result,” says its eminent founder, “of a perfect freedom in trade.” This number had already doubled itself when I saw the place for the first time in 1833; and it has continued to increase ever since in the same rapid way. Singapore has now become the commercial emporium of all the trading communities of the Eastern Archipelago, as well as of that extensive trade which is carried on by all nations with China and India. Hither also resort, now

twice in every month, the steam-vessels of the Dutch from Batavia, of the Spanish from Manilla, and our own from China, to meet the European mail. The number of square-rigged vessels that anchor annually in the roads exceeds a thousand. The island measures twenty-seven miles in length by eleven in breadth. A few years ago it was a dense jungle : on every hill may now be seen the residence of some hospitable merchant, surrounded by plantations of nutmeg or other spice trees. Excellent roads intersect the island ; and substantial bridges are thrown across its streams—for which luxuries of communication much credit is due to the present energetic and excellent governor, Colonel Butterworth.

On the 9th June the *Phlegethon* steam-frigate sailed with the engineer, Mr. Scott, and Mr. Hosken the harbour-master, as the pioneers of the new settlement at Labuan.

The June mail, which arrived on the 7th August, brought our new commander-in-chief, Sir Francis Collier, as well as the gratifying intelligence that Her Majesty had been pleased to confer the Order of the Bath on Mr. Brooke—of which he was made Knight Commander,—and the Lieutenant-Governor of Labuan was directed to invest Sir James accordingly. The ceremony was performed on the 22nd of August, a very great event in Sineapore, Mr. Napier representing Her Majesty with becoming dignity : the whole business was more amusing than imposing, and finished in the evening with a ball.

By some error, the representative of Majesty omitted to invite the too sensitive editor of a local journal, which oversight gave rise to a succession of abusing articles, supposed to be in disparagement of the new colony generally, and of the Royal Navy in particular : some of these subsequently found their way into an English paper, and, I am told, were alluded to in the House of Commons. Great indeed must have been the triumph of my little friend.

During our stay at Singapore, the body of a large tiger was brought in by some Malays (a not unusual occurrence), to enable them to receive the reward given by Government. The Malays stated that, when they found this monster in a hole which had been dug to catch him, they threw quick lime into his eyes ; and the unfortunate beast, while suffering intense agony from this cruel appliance, drowned himself in some water which was at the bottom of the pit, though not more than a foot deep.

The annual loss of human life from tigers, chiefly among the Chinese settlers, is perfectly fearful, averaging no fewer than 360, or one per diem. Great exertions are still making for the destruction of these animals, which is effected by pitfalls, cages baited with a dog, goat, monkey, or other restless animal, and by sundry cunning contrivances. Not many years ago the existence of a tiger in the island was disbelieved ; and they must have been very scarce indeed, for even the natives did not know of any. It is the opinion of Dr. Oxley (no mean

authority at Singapore), that one may have been accidentally carried by the tide across the narrow straits which separate the island from the main land, and another may have instinctively followed: finding abundance of food they have multiplied. This is a more rational mode of accounting for their being here, than to suppose that they chased their prey over ; as it is contrary to the nature of the beast to follow in pursuit, after the first attempt proves unsuccessful. Now, at Singapore, as in the days of Alfred with the wolves in England, it is necessary to offer a reward for their destruction.

One of the most recent victims was the son of the headman at the village of Passier Rice, who, having gone into the jungle immediately at the back of his father's house, for the purpose of cutting wood, was attacked by a tiger. The father, hearing his cries, rushed out just in time to grasp his son's legs, as the brute was dragging him into the jungle. The father pulled and the tiger growled ferociously, and it was only on several persons coming up and assailing him, that the monster was persuaded to quit his prey ; but the unfortunate young man was dead ! I could enumerate many instances of the daring exploits of these brutes, but one or two will be sufficient to convince the reader of the ferocious nature of their attacks, and their peculiar relish for human flesh, which, when once tasted, is preferred by them to any other.

The district of Siranjong appears to be their favourite prowling-ground. In April, last year, one of them put to

flight a party of Malays who were at work in that neighbourhood. Before they could get clear of the jungle, the tiger — a well-known brute, advanced in years, and remarkable from having large white spots—sprang upon one of them, selecting, of course, the fattest. When the first shock of their fright was over, they turned on the tiger, and, pursuing him with their parongs (short swords), made him drop his prey, but not until the poor man was in the agonies of death. The same tiger, however, determined not to be disappointed of his meal, that night carried off a Chinaman at a short distance from the scene of his morning's exploits. In the course of the following month, at the same place, two Chinamen employed in sawing timber were carried off. On the last occasion, the comrades of the victim, hearing his shrieks, bravely rushed out in a body to his assistance, as the tiger was dragging him towards the jungle ; but, instead of dropping his prey and skulking off as he ought to have done, the brute, greatly to their dismay, faced about and stood growling over the body in a most ferocious manner ; and it was not until he had received a shower of sticks and stones that he moved off.

The water-buffalo is an animal much in use at Sincapore for purposes of draught. It is a dull, heavy-looking animal—slow at work, and I think disgusting in appearance ; but remarkable for sagacity and attachment to its native keepers. It has, however, a particular antipathy to a European, and will immediately detect him

in a crowd. Its dislike to, and its courage in attacking, the tiger is well known all over India.

Not long ago, as a Malayan boy, who was employed by his parents in herding some water-buffaloes, was driving his charge home by the borders of the jungle, a tiger made a sudden spring, and, seizing the lad by the thigh, was dragging him off, when two old bull buffaloes, hearing the shriek of distress from the well-known voice of their little attendant, turned round and charged with their usual rapidity. The tiger, thus closely pressed, was obliged to drop his prey, to defend himself. While one buffalo fought and successfully drove the tiger away, the other kept guard over the wounded boy. Later in the evening, when the anxious father, alarmed, came out with attendants to seek his child, he found that the whole herd, with the exception of the two old buffaloes, had dispersed themselves to feed, but that *they* were still there—one standing over the bleeding body of their little friend, while the other kept watch on the edge of the jungle for the return of the tiger.

There is a procession and much parade in bringing these tigers to the Government office. They are made to look as fierce as possible, propped up in a standing position by pieces of bamboo, the mouth open, and tail on end.

The Governor kindly presented me with this fallen monarch of the jungle, and I was astonished at the number of native volunteers for the service of denuding

him of his skin, the only part I coveted, while they demanded the carcase for their trouble. But I found afterwards that they made a large profit by retailing the flesh, a belief being entertained by this people that the eating of it is not only a sovereign remedy for all diseases, but that it imparts to him who eats it the sagacity as well as the courage of the animal. A friend of mine belonging to the 21st regiment, M.N.I., who was slowly recovering from an attack of fever, finding some difficulty in masticating the food before him, questioned his servant as to the cause, when he discovered that the fellow had purchased a small piece of my tiger, which he had clandestinely introduced into his master's currie. When my friend got well, young Zaddie firmly believed that his remedy had effected the cure.

On the Rajah's visiting some poor Dyaks in November, 1850, located on the Quop branch of the Sarawak river, so strongly impressed were they with the idea that sagacity and intelligence might be instilled into the human frame through the channel of the throat, that, at a feast given to celebrate his visit, the elders of both sexes, taking from a cauldron a handful of rice, which some of the party were cooking in the centre of the apartment, brought it to the "Tuan Besar" (Great Sir), to spit on, and the mixture thus made they swallowed with peculiar gusto, the younger branches applying to the Rajah's European attendants for a similar relish to their meal.

Although out on several occasions, I was never fortunate enough to fall in with a live tiger. With wild hog we occasionally had good sport. With my friend, Dr. Oxley, who seldom misses his bird, I had some good snipe-shooting, but it requires a companion acquainted with the locality to obtain sport. Deer are occasionally met with. The naturalist will find no end of amusement in the jungle ; there are varieties of the monkey ; the *Pteromys* (flying squirrel) is common ; but the most extraordinary creature is the *Pteropus*, or flying fox, of which Dr. Oxley writes, "I may add several species of the bat tribe, amongst them, that most destructive one to all fruits, the flying fox or *Pteropus* : fortunately, however, they are as yet scarce, but at no distance from us they are numerous beyond count. I have seen a flock of them, whilst anchored in the straits of Malacca, so large, as to take several hours in passing ;" and the editor of the "Journal of the Indian Archipelago," states in a note, "A colony is at present located in a mangrove creek at the head of the estuary of the Johore. In the day they may be seen asleep hanging in millions from the branches of the mangroves. At sunset they begin to stir, and presently they ascend into the air, and wing their way to the southward in one vast interrupted cloud. They pass the whole night in the jungle and plantations devouring fruit, and as soon as dawn begins to appear, they mount the air again, and return to their roosting-place at the head of the estuary." Dr. Oxley adds, "Their flesh is eaten by

the natives, but no real fox smells to my mind one half so rank as they do ; methinks a rat would be palatable food compared with them." I have frequently seen them when fresh caught : they make scarcely any attempt at escape, and are very gentle, frequently licking the hand of their captors ; the skin is beautifully soft, the head is like that of a miniature fox.

CHAPTER II.

NEW HARBOUR—SAIL FROM SINGAPORE—SANTOHONG—EXCITEMENT AT THE RAJAH'S RETURN—ST. PIERRE'S—MEANDER PROCEEDS UP THE RIVER—REJOICINGS—KUCHING—EARLIEST VIEWS AND MOVEMENTS OF SIR JAMES BROKE.

WHILE preparations were making for the establishment at Labuan, the *Meander* refitted in the snug and picturesque New Harbour, which appears to have been overlooked in selecting the first points of settlement; the only objection to it as a harbour is the intricacy of the eastern entrance; a difficulty which, by the introduction of steam, has become of little consequence. No place could be better adapted for a coal dépôt; and, as a harbour for a man-of-war to refit, it is most convenient. The forge can be landed, boats repaired, and the artificers employed under commodious sheds, and all under the immediate eye of the officers on board. It has another great advantage over Singapore roads; in the latter anchorage a ship's bottom becomes more foul than in any other that I know of,—perhaps from the near proximity to the bottom; this is not the case in New Harbour, through

which there is always a tide running. Although it has the appearance of being hot and confined, surrounded as it is by high land, we did not find it so in reality: generally there is a current of air inside, while the ships in the stagnant and crowded roads are often becalmed.

On 29th August we re-embarked Sir James Brooke, who proposed calling at Sarawak on our way to Labuan; the Lieutenant-Governor was to follow in the *Phlegethon* steamer, after the arrival of the mail.

Right glad was I again to find myself, accompanied by Sir James Brooke, approaching the coast of Borneo. Five years had elapsed since we were last together there,—under circumstances, perhaps, of greater interest, although at the moment less auspicious. He seemed then to have no other resources, nor means of carrying out his truly philanthropic views than his own brave heart, manly bearing, and sincerely good intentions.

On the 2nd September, being near Santobong, we sent a boat up to Sarawak, and that evening we anchored off the Marotabus entrance, under Tanjong Poe.

It was while under this point, in 1839, in the *Royalist* yacht, that Sir James for the first time witnessed a native skirmish: an attack was made by some Sakarran marauders on a small boat of Sarawak Malays, who had accompanied him on a short pleasure excursion.

The news of our approach having reached Kuching* by the boat which we had despatched the previous afternoon,

* Kuching is the name of the capital town of the province of Sarawak.

as our *avant-courier*, by the Santobong entrance, we now saw coming towards us with the last of the ebb a few prahus, the advance-guard of a whole fleet, which was hastening to welcome their beloved chief. It had been the Rajah's intention to reach his capital without any fuss ; but by a letter from Mr. Crookshank he learned that the whole population had been thrown into a state of the greatest excitement, and not an individual would remain at home, who could procure a conveyance down the river. The following morning presented, indeed, a lively and exciting scene ; the whole Sarawak population appeared to be afloat ; all their largest and finest boats had been put into requisition, and came with tomtoms beating, streamers and colours flying.

The first boat which came alongside contained the Bornean Princes, the survivors of the Bruné massacre, and relatives of poor Muda Hassim. Among them I recognised Pangueran Omar Alli, with a desperate wound in the face : he had also a frightful gash across the breast. He had a narrow escape, having been attacked while asleep.

While I was on deck, waiting to receive their Royal Highnesses in proper form, they found their way into the presence of the Rajah through the quarter gallery window, thereby evading all ceremony. The pleasure on both sides at meeting was unfeigned : and, indeed—setting aside those social ties which must bind us all more or less to the land of our birth,—no one, witnessing the real

delight which the return of Sir James Brooke afforded these simple people, could wonder at his preferring the country, where such a reception awaited him, to colder, if more civilised, England.

With the first of the flood tide our Rajah embarked in the *Mæander's* barge ; and, quitting the ship under a salute and manned yards, attended by his picturesque fleet, he proceeded up the river.

After Sir James's departure we stood out to sea again, in search of our small tender, the *Jolly Bachelor*. Off Tanjong Datu we hoisted out our boom boats, and sending them to the north and south, we stood ourselves towards St. Pierre's.

At a distance St. Pierre's has the appearance of two islands ; but, on approaching, we found the parts connected by a white coral-bank, which appeared as if it would have been dry at low water. We stood within a cable's length on the south and east, as well as on the south-west sides, without finding any bottom with the hand-leads. We afterwards met the tender off the entrance of the Sarawak river ; but, darkness coming on, we brought up half-way between it and Tanjong Poe.

It took us three days to get up to the Quop, owing to the freshets we experienced. There was no flood tide, and not sufficient wind to render the ship governable under canvass ; for certainly the *Mæander* was the largest ship ever seen, or likely to be seen, in this river.

I took up my old quarters in the Rajah's house, and

found him surrounded, as formerly, by a happy and contented people. His reception by them had been most gratifying to him: it was late in the evening before the flotilla arrived, and every house was illuminated with rows of lamps, which were reflected on the smooth surface of the river for more than two miles, having a very pretty effect.

Although we found Kuching greatly improved as regards size and importance, it was not so in appearance. We missed the magnificent jungle forest close to the backs of the picturesque native houses that faced the edge of the river. Bare hills, studded with black stumps of trees, which had been burnt to make room for roads and cultivation, now showed above the houses.

Before entering into any further description of the province of Sarawak, it may be well to recapitulate, as briefly as possible, what I stated in a former work, as to the motives which first induced Sir James Brooke to visit this country; it will be useful also to glance over subsequent events, up to the present time.

"I had," observes Sir James Brooke in an early journal, "for some years turned my mind to the geography of the Indian Archipelago, and cherished an ardent desire to become better acquainted with a country combining the richest natural productions with an unrivalled degree of luxuriant beauty. Circumstances for a time prevented my entering on this field for enterprise and research; and when the barriers were

removed I had many preparations to make, and some difficulties to overcome."

Mr. Brooke finally sailed from England in his schooner yacht the *Royalist*, of 142 tons, on the 16th December, 1838, and he arrived at Singapore on the 1st of June, 1839. Thence he sailed for Borneo on the 28th July. His first intention had been to proceed to Maludu Bay; but, hearing that the Rajah Muda Hassim, who then governed that part of the island called Borneo Proper, was at Sarawak, he determined on proceeding up the river to the capital town of Kuching. He was kindly welcomed by the Rajah, who did not usually reside at Sarawak, but was at that time detained there by a rebellion in the interior. The population was then about 1500 persons, chiefly the followers of the Rajah and of his fourteen brothers, who also had their ordinary residence elsewhere.

On the 21st August, leaving the yacht in the river, and having obtained permission, Mr. Brooke, accompanied by some chiefs, proceeded on his first excursion into the interior, visiting Sibnow, Samarahan, and other places removed from the seat of civil war. He returned on the 25th. On the 30th, he made another excursion, and visited a tribe of Dyaks up the Sunda river. These visits are most interestingly described in his published journal.

On the 9th September, and on subsequent days, Mr. Brooke had interviews with the Rajah, during which trade and various other topics were discussed, and a reciprocal confidence and good feeling appears to have been

established. At these interviews a cunning and intelligent Malay, named Macota, was generally present. This man was of superior education, and appears to have gained much of Mr. Brooke's confidence, as did also Muda Mahomed, who was own brother to Muda Hassim, and a good man on the whole, though subject to fits of sulkiness.

On the 23d, Mr. Brooke, leaving the *Royalist* off the mouth of the river, and accompanied by two Panguerans, Subtu and Illudeen, visited the river Sadong, of which the Songi is a branch, where he made the acquaintance of Sheriff Sahibe, by whom he was entertained. Datu Jembrong, an Illanun and pirate, lived near. Mr. Brooke described him as at that time somewhat advanced in years, stout, and with a resolute air, but of a most polite demeanour ;—as oily-tongued a cut-throat, indeed, as a gentleman need wish to associate with. Having made these and other acquaintances, Mr. Brooke, on the 3rd October, again took leave of Muda Hassim, and returned to Singapore.

On the 20th November, he started on his interesting visit to the Celebes Islands, of which an account is published in Captain Mundy's work, after which he again returned to Singapore, where he refitted, but was detained some time longer by ill health.

It was the end of August, 1840, before he made his second visit to Sarawak. He found the people in much the same state as at his first visit ; but there was some

talk of more decisive measures for bringing the civil war to a close. He renewed his friendly visits to the Rajah, and states in his journal that "their good understanding knew no interruption."

"October 2nd," observes Mr. Brooke, "lying at Sarawak, losing valuable time, but, pending the war, difficult to get away. Whenever the subject is mentioned, Muda Hassim begs me not to desert him just as it is coming to a close, and daily holds out prospects of the arrival of various Dyak tribes.

"The Rajah urged upon me that he was deceived and betrayed by the intrigues of Panguerans, who aimed at alienating from him the affections of his countrymen ; and that, if I left him, he should probably have to remain here for the rest of his life, being resolved to die rather than yield to the unjust influence which others were seeking to acquire over him ; and he appealed to me whether, after our friendly communication, I could, as an English gentleman, desert him. Under such circumstances, I felt that honourably I could not do so ; and, though reluctantly enough, I resolved to give him the aid he asked, —small indeed, but of consequence in such a petty warfare."

On the 3rd, Mr. Brooke started for the seat of war, and joined Der Macota, up the river at Leda Tanah.

I must again refer my readers to the amusing description he has given to the public of this civil war. The aid he afforded soon brought matters to a crisis. The rebels

surrendered to him, and he interceded with the Rajah for their lives.

“ Those who know the Malay character will appreciate the difficulty of the attempt to stand between the monarch and his victims. I only succeeded when, at the end of a long debate—I soliciting, he denying—I rose to bid him farewell, as it was my intention to sail directly, since, after all my exertions in his cause, if he would not grant me the lives of the people, I could only consider that his friendship was at an end. On this he yielded.” The wives and children of the principal people were demanded as hostages, and were delivered up.

“ Siniawan, the seat of the civil war, dwindled away. The poorer men stole off in canoes, and were scattered about, most of them coming to Kuching. The better class pulled down the houses, abandoned the town, and lived in boats for a month ; after which, alarmed by the delay, and impelled by hunger, they also fled. Patingue Gapoor, it was said, betook himself to Sambas ; and the Patingue Ali and the Tumangony sought a retreat among the Dyaks.”

I have stated this much to enable those of my readers, who may not have had an opportunity of perusing Mr. Brooke’s early journal, to form an idea of some of the moving causes which induced my friend to allow himself to be invested with the Government of Sarawak. It was from no sordid nor ambitious views, but from truly philanthropic motives. He had acquired some experience ; and he

clearly saw that, if he could succeed in removing those evils which were a fertile source of oppression and abuse, he might live to see Sarawak inhabited by a flourishing and happy people. But, if my readers would appreciate all the difficulties with which Mr. Brooke had to contend, they must be referred to his early journals, which are already well known. What he has accomplished since their appearance, up to the present time, I shall endeavour to state in another chapter.

CHAPTER III.

STATE OF THE PROVINCE OF SADONG—BORNEAN STORM—CONFERENCE AT THE RAJAH'S WITH THE NATIVE CHIEFS—WILD BOG KILLED—DEPARTURE FOR LABUAN—THE GOVERNOR SWORN IN—DIFFICULTIES OF THE NEW SETTLEMENT—THE BARRACKS—DEPARTURE FOR BRUNEI—SQUALLS—DISASTERS THEREBY—DEPARTURE FOR SINGAPORE—SICKNESS AT LABUAN—DEATHS AMONG THE MARINES—ARRIVAL AT SINGAPORE—RETURN TO LABUAN—SEPOYS ON BOARD SHIP—INCREASED SICKNESS AND MORTALITY AT LABUAN—DANGEROUS ILLNESS OF THE GOVERNOR—HE EMBARKS ON BOARD THE *MELANDER*, AND PROCEEDS ON A CRUISE.

I SHALL now proceed to describe what we saw during our necessarily short visit at Sarawak, and then relate a few subsequent events. Although Sir James Brooke had, previously to his departure in 1847, appointed proper persons to conduct the affairs of the province during his short stay in England, still the evils of lax government within, and the effect of renewed piracy without, were discernible. He had not time, before departing with us for Labuan, to restore matters to the state which he intended they should resume.

The province of Sadong, from its vicinity to that of Sarawak, lay immediately under the eye of the Rajah, and enjoyed, by virtue of his protection, a large share of

the prosperity of Kuching. In this province Sir James detected a conspiracy, which had for its real object the re-establishment of slavery and piracy.

To nip this in the bud, he at once prepared a force to send to Sadong ; and an excellent opportunity thus presenting itself for introducing our boats to the Bornean river service, four of them, under charge of Lieutenant Bowyear, accompanied the expedition. They returned in a few days, having succeeded in all the objects for which they went. The principal agents in the conspiracy were brought to account for their conduct before the "Tuan Besar" (Great Sir), and from one of them the origin of the conspiracy was worked out. It appeared that, immediately after Mr. Brooke's departure for England, young Seriff Ahmed, the son of my old acquaintance Seriff Jaffer (since dead), entered into a correspondence with Seriff Mullah. Ever since the destruction of his village and property up the Undop by the *Dido's* boats in 1844, the said Seriff Mullah had been living in the Sakarran country, for the purpose, it was said, of collecting the disaffected, who had made their escape on the destruction of their piratical strongholds at the different towns and fortifications, viz., at Padi, Pakoo, Rembas, Patusen, Undop, &c. Their object now was to establish head-quarters, and to fortify themselves, in Seriff Sahibe's old place, up the Sadong ; and from thence to afford every encouragement and protection to the Sarebas pirates, sharing with them the plunder, of which they

would be sure to obtain abundance, especially from the extensive and increasing trade now carried on by their neighbours of Sarawak. But

“Man proposes, and God disposes.”

The people of the Linga, with whom young Ahmed lived, were at enmity with the Sarebas.

One day, as Ahmed was returning down the river from a visit to his friend Mullah, he was waylaid by the very men with whom he was about to form an alliance ; they endeavoured to murder him and the whole of his crew, and they so nearly succeeded, that out of eighteen one man only escaped to tell the tale. This was pretty well for “*inoffensive traders.*”

The Rajah’s return,—so unexpected by these worthies,—and his decisive measures, at once overawed the instigators of these proceedings ; and the appearance of the *Mæander’s* boats for a time checked the equipment of the Sarebas war-prahus.

September 13th. We were joined by the *Auckland* steamer, which called in the river on its way to Labuan. With the Lieutenant-Governor came Sir James’s nephew, Captain Brooke Johnson Brooke, heir-apparent to the Rajahship. He will not forget the first night he passed on the river, in my gig, between the Quop and the town.

Anxious to avoid the heat of the sun, we did not leave the *Mæander* until late in the evening, starting at about ten o’clock. One of those fearful storms peculiar to Borneo came on : the rain fell in such torrents that the

men had to take their hats, in addition to the regular balers, to keep the boat free ; the vivid flashes of lightning, followed by intense darkness and crashing peals of thunder, dazzled, blinded, and confused ; and when the men recovered their oars after baling the water out, we knew not which way to steer. We were, however, fortunate in reaching Kuching before daylight.

Among other interesting events which we witnessed during our short stay were two feasts,—one given by the Rajah to the chiefs and people, the other by the Datus to Sir James. At the Datus' we were received by the still pretty and graceful Inda, mother of Fatima, the youthful heiress to all the Datu Gapoore's property, whose beauty has now attained for her a wide celebrity throughout the Malayan Archipelago. She besprinkled us with coloured rice and gold-dust, to which was added a gentle shower of rose-water from an utensil, the commoner use of which was yet unknown among these kind and simple people. After we had taken our seats, verses from the Koran were chaunted, the book being handed from one to another, but without any regard to precedence or sanctity, the man with the strongest lungs taking the longest pull at it ; then came feasting, with the most undeniably excellent curries.

On the 21st September, a Bechara (talk) held at the Rajah's house was the principal and most important event. Every part of the audience-chamber was crowded ; light and air were almost excluded by the multitude of eager

faces that filled the openings which served for windows. We were in full uniform, and found it oppressively hot.

The business commenced by the chief of each department welcoming back the Rajah.

The Europeans presented him with a rich and valuable sword. Then came the Rajah's speech,—in the course of which he presented each of the Datus with a handsome state sword, and afterwards introduced to the people his heir-presumptive, his probable successor in the government of Sarawak.

A new flag, which the Rajah had brought from England, was then unfurled for the first time—displaying a black and red cross on a yellow field. This was to be henceforth the national flag of Sarawak. It was hoisted and saluted in due form, the *Maander's* band by a lively air contributing to the effect.

A very complimentary portion of the Rajah's speech was devoted to the Captain of the frigate,—“Who had been,” said the speaker, “particularly selected by Her Britannic Majesty for the present honourable service, because he had on a former occasion, in conjunction with some of this distinguished audience, assisted in the destruction of many piratical strongholds,—a friend to the good but a scourge to the evil doer.” During this speech, which, although it lasted more than an hour, was delivered in the native language with extraordinary fluency, a deferential and complete silence prevailed. At its conclusion pipes and cigars were introduced ; we

threw off our jackets, and, appearing in full Sarāwak uniform, viz., shirts and trowsers only, we discussed with less ceremony, and more comfort, the past, the present, and the future.

On one of the nights during our stay at Sarāwak we were disturbed by a couple of shots, fired in the garden adjoining Mr. Ruppell's bungalow, in which I was billeted. On reaching the spot, we found a huge hog making his last gasp. His epicurean taste for yams and pine-apples had long made him a great nuisance hereabouts ; but, his agility being as remarkable as his appetite—enabling him to clear at one bound a six-foot high logwood fence—he had eluded all attempts of the Sarāwak sportsmen to stop his gastronomic career. At length, however, one "Peter" was too cunning for him : he verified the proverb about the pitcher which comes too often to the well. The exact height of this monster was three feet four inches : within his expanded jaws a small child might have stood upright.

We should have liked a longer sojourn at Sarāwak, but our new settlement had to be attended to.

On the 23rd September, the *Mæander* dropped down and anchored off Tanjong Poe ; and on the morning of the 25th we sailed for Labuan. 29th September we anchored in Victoria Harbour, Labuan.

Temporary residences, consisting of small square cottage sheds raised about four feet from the ground, as all Malay buildings are, on piles, had been erected ; but

they did not look very inviting. The flat selected for the settlement was below the level of the sea, from the encroachments of which it was protected by a self-formed bank. It had a swampy, unhealthy appearance. However, it is not for Englishmen to foresee difficulties, and the Governor landed in all due form, under a salute from the *Mæander*. Sir James Brooke and Mr. Napier were duly sworn in, and thus commenced the government of Labuan.

All provisions were ruinously dear—but the greatest difficulty with which the new settlers had to contend was the want of labourers ; those obtained were chiefly slaves, belonging to certain Malay chiefs on the Borneo side, who could recal their men at any moment. The few Klings and Chinese who had come over from Singapore, had been spoiled by high wages and drink.

It is supposed that our old friend, Der Macota, had been busy in preventing the transmission of either men or supplies of any sort from Borneo. The following is a proof of the vindictive feeling evinced towards us by the Panguerans. A few Chinese carpenters went over to Brunei from Labuan ; and, while there, they were visited by some Malay women. Three of these women were summoned into the presence of the Sultan and Macota ; one of the women was attended by her two infants, who clung to her dress on either side. An executioner, in attendance behind, with a parang lopped off the little arms of the children—after which the three women were krissed.

A much more eligible and healthy spot than the site of our sheds had been selected for the barracks. They were to stand on higher ground, and, when fit for use, were to be occupied by a detachment of Madras Native troops, from the Straits settlement.

On the 6th October we again received on board the Governor and his staff,—his Excellency purposing to pay a visit of ceremony to the Sultan of Borneo, as well as to arrange with him certain matters of business. We hoisted out the launch before quitting the harbour, there being no place in which the open sea was likely to be smooth enough to enable us to do so with safety.

The next day, the 7th October, we were taken in a heavy squall, with the launch and our small steam-tender in tow; and, before the sail could be got off, the launch—which was a bad imitation of the boats used on the north-west coast of Spain—took a dive, and turned bottom upwards. Our steam-tender, likewise in tow, did not take in so much as a spoonful of water.

We succeeded in picking up the two boat-keepers, and the greater part of the gear: at the same time we came to an anchor for the purpose of hoisting in the launch, which was considerably damaged by her short tow under water. While we were thus employed, the *Royalist* hove in sight, under jury-masts, having been dismantled. She had left us on the evening of the 5th for Singapore, and had been caught in the same squall with ourselves. I do not remember ever to have seen so complete a wreck, as far

as spars and rigging were concerned. She was caught while in stays, and head to wind ; the bobstays had given, and the forestays had brought the bowsprit in-board ; this had been carried away just outside the knight-heads, and was now laid alongside the foremast, which, with the other three masts, lay amidships, fore and aft the deck.

Leaving the *Royalist* at Labuan to refit, and a volunteer party of Marines to do duty on shore, we sailed on 14th October for Singapore.

The wind holding from the S.W., we went out to the eastward and northward of the island, taking advantage of the pilotage of Lieut. Gordon, commanding the *Royalist*, who was particularly well qualified to show us the way, having lately completed an excellent survey of the island and adjacent coast. After he had left us, and before losing sight of Labuan, we passed over an extensive coral shoal to the N.W., the sounding varying from four to four and a half fathoms for several miles ; such an uncertain bottom rendered it most unpleasant cruising-ground for a forty-four gun frigate.

On our passage, symptoms of fever began to show themselves among the party of Marines, who had been first sent to do duty at Labuan ; one of them, a private, died on the 17th, and a corporal two days after : they were both promising young men. These casualties caused us to feel very anxious about the poor fellows who were still doing duty there.

We made a long and tedious voyage to Singapore, not arriving until the 31st.

The Admiral immediately despatched the *Auckland* steamer, which returned with the *Royalist* in tow, on the 16th of November, bringing accounts of the progress made in the barracks for the Sepoy troops, as well as of the sickly state of all those who were located on the flat. It was decided, that we should embark a company of the 21st Native Infantry, under charge of my friend, Captain Douglas Hamilton. This we did on the morning of the 22nd; and sailing immediately afterwards, on the evening of the sixth day we anchored off one of the islands outside Labuan. It was well that we made so quick a passage: the poor Sepoys, who were as docile and obliging as they could be, under the circumstances, and appeared grateful for the arrangements we had made for their comfort, were still not happy. When they came on board we had just refitted, and had been fresh painted. Now John Sepoy is a clean animal on shore, when he can, without being seen, get rid of the red juice produced by the betel-nut and chunam, which he is constantly masticating; but, when he is so situated that one sees everything about him besmeared with the stains of the nasty-looking liquid, superadded to the influence of seasickness, then is he a very changed and unattractive creature. We gave our Sepoy troops one side of the main-deck entirely to themselves.

The Rajpoots of the company being, next to the

Bramahs, the highest caste in Hindoostan, could not, of course, cook their rice at the same fire, nor drink of the same water as that used by those of lower caste ; nor could the lowest follower of these soldiers condescend to cook where our men daily dressed large portions of the unclean beast. Such a proceeding would, indeed, have been an abomination not to be got over ; so that we had to erect two cooking-places, independent of our galley-fire, and to hoist on board casks of water, which they had themselves provided and filled. The few poor fellows, whose stomachs were strongest, would appear in a morning with their little brass pots of water to perform their ablutions. They clean out the mouth with the forefinger, thrusting it well into the throat, which generally had the effect of accomplishing that which the unpleasant motion of the ship might have failed to do.

On landing at Labuan I almost dreaded enquiring into the state of the poor fellows we had left behind. We found the whole colony sick : some Marines had died, many others were seriously ill ; and, of all the survivors, the poor Governor himself was in the worst condition. He had been delirious, and lay apparently with but little hope of recovery ; and his favourite medical attendant, Dr. Treacher, in whom he had every confidence, was nearly as bad as himself. I saw that some steps should be immediately taken ; and, making my way to the sick bed side, I begged Sir James to prepare for removal on the morrow, giving him the choice of the *Auckland* or the

Maander. Having a particular dislike to the motion of a steamer, he selected the latter, in spite of our wretched accommodation ; but I saw that no time was to be lost. Feeling better in the morning, Sir James undertook to sign a few papers : he fainted twice during the day ; and, when I called, just before sunset, with a boat's crew to convey him on board, he was so exhausted that our surgeon declared that it would be dangerous to remove him ; with great reluctance therefore on my part, he was left to imbibe for another night the fetid and pestilential air of the Labuan plain.

The selection of such a site for the town of Labuan has been, not unnaturally, criticised. Several considerations appeared at first to recommend it, while the objections were thought to be such as time and skill would overcome. The site fixed upon lay on the bay which had been selected by all the naval officers, who had visited the island, as the best harbour for shipping. It presented a beautiful beach, with a broad level plain behind it, for building operations. It was here that Captain Mundy hoisted the English ensign, when the island was taken possession of as a British colony. As to its malarious character, that was believed to be temporary, and to proceed from the fresh-water swamp lying behind the plain, which admitted of being thoroughly drained. Doubts, however, have been raised whether the sickness proceeded from the fresh-water swamp, or from the exposed coral reefs which abound in the vicinity of the harbour.

The site of the town has since been changed, the plain has been drained ; and I have not lately heard any complaints of unhealthiness, beyond those common to most tropical climates.

The following morning Sir James felt better, and I received a note from the A. D. C., to say that his uncle would be ready to embark in the cool of the evening. At five o'clock I had the satisfaction of receiving him on board ; but how altered ! I supported him to his cabin ; and, that he might have a change of air, although never so slight, we immediately got under weigh, and proceeded as far as the fast disappearing daylight would allow. At seven o'clock we came to, off Collier Point.

CHAPTER IV.

ANCHOR OFF KIMANIS—COMMUNICATE WITH THE ORANG KAYA—BOAT ARRIVES FROM WRECK OF THE MINEKVA—CURIOUS SWARM OF BEES—SAIL FROM KIMANIS—KINI BALU MOUNTAIN AND SCENERY—WRECK OF MINEKVA FOUND PLUNDERED AND BURNED—BALAMBANGAN—HAULING THE SHINE—SHERIFF HUSSIN—CIVILITY OF THE CHIEFS—SPORTING—SIMPAN MANJIOW—MALLAWALLER—DEATH OF JOHN JAGO—CAGAYAN SOLOO—REMARKABLE INLAND BASIN—CHRISTMAS DAY.

SIR JAMES BROOKE had duties to perform, as Her Majesty's Commissioner to the Sultan of Borneo, and the chiefs of the Malayan Archipelago; but he was only just able to indicate to me the direction in which he would wish to go. Our chief object being the restoration of his health, we managed by keeping the ship under easy sail during the day, and by anchoring in the evening, to give him the advantage of undisturbed rest at night. Among the invalids, there had come on board with the Governor his nephew and A. D. C., Captain Brooke, whose attack of fever was just coming on,—poor Dr. Treacher, a mere shadow of what he was,—young Charles Grant, also suffering from fever, and the good-tempered Spencer St. John, whose kindness to the sick had been unabated.

On Monday 4th we weighed at daylight, and with fair wind, smooth water, and fine weather, coasted along in the direction of Pulo Tiga, the scenery increasing in beauty as we got to the northward. Running between Pulo Tiga and Tanjong Kalias, we shaped a course E. by S. for the entrance to the Kimanis river, up which there was a fine old Orang Kaya (Chief Man), Isteer by name, a friend of our Rajah.

It was dark when we came to, in six fathoms, about three quarters of a mile off shore, and two to the westward of the entrance,—a good hit, considering that we had run the last twelve miles without seeing the land; nor is there by daylight any remarkable point to indicate the position of the river. This was formerly a great haunt of the Lanuns, and other thieves.

The following morning, 5th December, having obtained the necessary information from some native fishing-boats, we sent the second gig up the river, to inform the Orang Kaya of the Rajah's arrival, as well as to solicit a pilot for the river Mengatal, where we intended to get another for Maludu Bay. Sir James had been informed of piratical combinations and doings in Labok Bay; and, after calling at Maludu for information, it was his intention to proceed there.

A cutter followed the gig, filled with amateurs, whose description of the river agreed with the favourable one given by Captain Mundy.

After crossing the bar, in which they found little more than two feet water, they got immediately into fresh

water ; and, pulling up for two miles and a half the prettiest stream imaginable, about a hundred yards wide, they came to the picturesque village of Kimanis. Here the houses, gardens, tropical plants, orchards, and ornamented ground showed an improved state of civilisation : they found cattle, poultry, and stock of various kinds. On their way back they shot an alligator, and a couple of monkeys, with a few birds.

The worthy Orang Kaya, a man of most polished manners (as the higher class of Malays always are), came himself on board, to pay his respects to the Rajah, and to offer his services as pilot ; he brought a present of a calf, and some fruit. Our purser failed in obtaining a supply of fresh beef, the price of a bullock having reached ten dollars, —more than double the sum formerly asked for one.

I had intended to go up in the cool of the next morning, but in that I was disappointed, as in the afternoon the unusual appearance, in these waters, of a boat with a European sail was reported, coming down along shore from the northward ; she reached us just before sunset, and proved to belong to the *Minerva* schooner, bringing the master and mate of that vessel, which they had left on a coral bank near Balambangan.

In the master, Mr. Lonsdale, I recognised an old acquaintance, who formerly commanded the *Maria*, one of the transports under convoy of the *Dido*, during the Chinese war ; he stated that, having run on the reef, and finding that his vessel could not be got off without being

lightened, he was throwing her cargo, which was of teak, overboard, when he observed several prahus coming out from under a point of land ; having no arms wherewith to defend himself, he had taken to his long-boat with the few valuables he could hastily collect, manned by his Lascar crew, making eighteen in all. Ten of the Lascars afterwards left him, on his landing at a part of the island for fuel and water ; he then went on, intending to coast down as far as Labuan, and there seek assistance.

These prahus, from whom Mr. Lonsdale, in his discretion, made such a precipitate retreat, *might* have been inoffensive, peaceable traders ; but, not having then read the opinion of some of those gentlemen in England who live at home at ease, and having himself served in these seas, he thought it just as well to make sure of keeping his head on his shoulders, by shunning the honour of a visit from such distinguished foreigners, belonging to a people whose tastes do occasionally rejoice in a necklace of human teeth.

While we were at morning quarters off Kimanis, a swarm of bees, attracted perhaps by the sound of the band, came round the ship, and finally settled on the under quarter of the cross-jack-yard, presenting a most extraordinary appearance : by clinging to one another they formed themselves into a bag twelve or fourteen inches deep, the mouth of which, attached to the yard, occupied a space of about two feet in length, by one wide, and which was shaken and moved about by the wind. Fearing that the

men might get stung on going aloft, I tried to dislodge them, first by discharging a musket with a double charge of coarse powder at them from the mizzen-rigging, within four yards ; this having no effect, it was afterwards fired at the same distance with a charge of sand, by which a few fell ; the vacancies were immediately filled up, and the bag appeared to stick closer than ever. They remained two days, during which time we were twice under weigh, making and shortening sail, in each of which operations the chain topsail-sheet ran through the centre of the bag, and disturbed large portions of them in its passage ; but they returned and repaired the damage, as soon as the sheet or clewline had been belayed.

The disaster of the *Minerva* induced me to defer my visit to the village, in order that we might repair to the scene of the wreck, and render such assistance as might be practicable. Accordingly, early the following morning, having hoisted her boat on board, we weighed with a fresh southerly wind, which afterwards veered round to S.W. and W., and ran along the coast about a couple of miles off shore, with the noble mountain of Kini-Balu in the back ground, raising its magnificent head above the clouds. Nothing could be finer than the scene before us ; and the day being clear, we did not lose any part of this beautiful moving panorama. Our poor invalids were much too ill to enjoy it : this was, however, the first day in which I had been able to discover the slightest improvement in the Governor's appearance. At seven P.M. we came to, within

a couple of miles of the wreck, having run in smooth water no less than a hundred and twenty miles since the morning.

8th December.—As might be supposed, when we found the wreck, not only had she been completely gutted, but she had been burned down to the water's edge, for the sake of the copper and iron bolts. We observed a few native boats in the distance, making off with the plunder.

The appearance of Balambangan was not inviting ; its approaches are shoal and intricate. It was twice occupied by the East Indian Government, having been ceded to Mr. Dalrymple by the Sultan Amir of Soloo in 1763, but the occupiers for that Government were expelled by the Soloo pirates ; and, though afterwards recovered, it was eventually abandoned. The Spaniards also once claimed possession of Balambangan ; but, when Manilla fell into the hands of the English, they lost all hold on this place, as well as their other possessions in the Soleo Archipelago. The place has a south-west and a north-east harbour.

There are several convenient spots on which we hauled our seine. There is always much excitement in this mode of fishing within the tropics, from the great variety of fish which are found in the bag of the net. Not to mention sharks, swordfish, and a multitudinous gathering of specimens more digestible,—young alligators also, turtle, and often very rare and beautiful shells are brought to land.

The mouths of large rivers in wooded countries should be avoided, on account of the dead logs which lie on the

bottom, half buried in sand, and which generally break your net. The time of rising tide I have always found the best for fishing : with a falling tide, I imagine, the fish go out into deep water.

December 9th, we weighed, and stood into Maludu Bay. On our way we fell in with a native prahu, belonging to Seriff Hussein, a son of the unfortunate Seriff Osman, who made such a gallant resistance in August, 1845, up the Maludu River, when attacked by the boats of the fleet, under Captain Talbot of the *Vestal*. He came on board, not without certain apprehensions which he tried in vain to conceal, and was ushered into the presence of the "Tuan Besar" (Brooke), whose name alone in these seas appears to insure those who like to come to him protection and kind treatment. Not much information could be gained from this worthy at the first interview : during the second, he and the chiefs with him admitted that nothing could be worse than the unprotected state and want of government, under which they lived ; that each petty chief quarrelled with and attacked his weaker neighbours, while they, in turn, lived in constant dread of an attack from the more formidable Bajow, or Soloo pirates.

We anchored well up the bay, and sent on shore to communicate with the chiefs. The following morning a deputation came on board, when we were informed of the breaking up and dispersion of the Labok Bay pirates.

These people, who visited the ship, were particularly

obliging and civil, and sent their men to show us the best shooting-ground,—rather appearing to like our visit, although we were not long enough together to establish implicit confidence in each other.

On the 10th, having pulled and poled over a bar, and up a shallow salt-water creek, on the east side of the bay, a little to the northward of where we had anchored, we landed a small shooting party, and were shown some particularly likely-looking ground, covered with long grass, and intersected in all directions by the fresh tracks of wild cattle. A hog was the result of our sport; but three large red deer made their appearance on the edge of the jungle, just as the guns had been discharged at our less dignified game. We were informed, that part of the coast near Simpan Manjiow was the best place for deer and wild cattle: and as our principal object was to establish friendly intercourse with the natives, wherever practicable, we weighed in the evening with a light land-breeze, and at eight the following morning anchored in nine fathoms, near the point of Simpan Manjiow. The north-east monsoon having set in, there was a heavy surf breaking along the rocky beach.

We discovered a bar about two miles to the southward, on the east side of the cape, over which we found a safe passage for the gig, leading into the entrance of a small river. On getting inside the bar, we discovered, parallel with the line of surf, a smooth-water boat-channel, affording a passage the whole way to the cape itself

uninterrupted, except in one particular spot : here was a small shelf, about ten yards wide, but we had no difficulty in carrying the gig over it.

We walked round and explored the ground on the western side, which we found well adapted for deer-shooting, being a fine open country, interspersed with trees,—the ground covered with short grass : there were tracks of numerous cloven-footed animals of all sizes, but it was too early in the day for them to be out feeding. Large herds of deer had been seen on a former occasion from the *Samarang's* boats, when they anchored for shelter on the western side of the cape. Numerous monkeys, while the tide was out, were amusing themselves on the sand.

Another party from the ship explored the coast to the southward ; they saw several small deer, but only succeeded in getting one.

On the 11th, with our tender, the *Jolly Bachelor* in company, we weighed and stood towards the island of Mallawaller, and soon entered among the dangers of the Soloo seas. As far as the eye could reach from the mast-head, patches of sand and coral banks were visible ; but the weather was fine, the water smooth and clear, time our own ; and, with our tender sounding a-head, we proceeded, nothing daunted by appearances. We could always pick our way by daylight, and anchor at sunset. With the novel and agreeable duty of making ourselves acquainted with the islands of this extensive

Archipelago and their inhabitants, we combined the gratification of affording amusement, and, with it, restoration of health to some of our poor invalids.

Mallawaller is surrounded by coral reefs and sand-banks. There appears to be a fine harbour to the eastward, but certainly no safe entrance for a ship the size of the *Mæander*. Exploring parties landed, and the island was well traversed. Some reported having seen, and fired at deer; and the appearance of the country made it probable that animals would be found there: it presented slopes of fresh, green grass, having rills of water running between them; nothing, however, was killed, and our shooting parties in the Soloo seas were uniformly unsuccessful. The brushwood having been set on fire in the evening, the flame spread and advanced with great rapidity, presenting a pretty appearance. No traces of inhabitants were here discovered, although, from the position of the place, its supply of wood and water, and the rich appearance of the soil, it should be a favourable position for a settlement; but we concluded that here, as well as at many other equally favoured spots, the absence of peaceable and settled inhabitants is to be ascribed to the want of such regular government as would secure protection from the lawless freebooters who infest these seas.

On the 13th, at ten A.M. expired in the prime of life, one of our finest young men, John Jago, another victim to the Labuan fever: his health had several times

partially rallied, but two days previous to his death he sent to take leave of me, and I was some time endeavouring to cheer him up. The sick were suspended in cots on both sides of the main-deck ; and, when any death occurred, it was difficult to hide from the others what had taken place. Jago was the last of the barge's crew who was taken ill, and had attended most of his companions through their attacks of fever : there was a happy expression of countenance, and a generosity about this poor fellow, that had endeared him to both officers and men. He left me the address of his mother, and of a young girl to whom he was betrothed.

On the 15th, we weighed as soon as the sun was high enough to show us the dangers, and stood under easy sail to the eastward with the tender sounding a-head.

After some little difficulty in winding the ship through the shoals, and an occasional scrape on some projecting point of coral, that had outgrown the bed to which it belonged, we made Cagayan Soloo on the 18th ; and before coming to an anchor on the eastern side, we buried a young Marine, George Martin.

Dollars not being a current medium of exchange among most of these islands, glass beads, looking-glasses, coloured cottons, &c., had been brought by us for purposes of barter ; and, as we were very anxious to obtain a supply of bullocks to keep our men in general, as well as the

sick, as much on fresh meat as possible, a boat was sent, with the purser and the interpreter, accompanied by a party of officers, to communicate with a house, which struck us in passing—from its size and the plantations around it—as probably belonging to some chief, by whose assistance we hoped to get a supply of cattle.

Having got inside the shoals with some difficulty, and effected a landing, our party was received in the politest manner by a fine-looking old Malay, who came down with his family to meet them. They made him to understand our wants; and he sent immediately to the chief of the district, and acquainted him with our wishes, appointing the next morning at nine, as the time to receive the chief's answer. Our people left the shore much pleased with their friend, who, as I have before remarked of the well-bred Malays, was a gentleman, polite, easy, and dignified.

The next morning the same party landed with the necessary articles for barter, expecting to meet the chief or his deputy, and to make a bargain for the cattle. Their friend of the evening before received them in the same kind manner. They waited some time in expectation of the cattle arriving, instead of which, parties of natives kept thronging in, well armed with kris, spear, and shield,—their tomtoms beating outside. After a while came the chief with a numerous train—himself a humpbacked ferocious-looking savage—with all his men in padded

jackets, and regular fighting costume. He made no reply to the questions of our party about bullocks, but kept his hand on his kris, and appeared undecided how to act. Our party were only eight in number, and destitute of arms, with the exception of one gun, the kind behaviour of their friend the night before having completely removed all suspicion of any sinister behaviour. Surrounded now by about sixty well-armed, rascally-looking thieves, of hostile demeanour, they thought it best to put on as bold a front as possible, and at the same time quietly to retire ; nor did they underrate their good fortune in regaining the boat without further molestation, the ship being some miles distant, and shut out from view by projecting headlands. This was a lesson not to venture, in future, out of sight of the ship among the natives of these islands without an apparent superiority of force. Their white flags were hung out as much for the purpose of entrapping the weak, as of bartering with the strong.

Finding our wishes not likely to be attained, and not liking our berth, which was exposed to the eastward, we weighed, and ran round to the opposite side of Cagayan Soloo. This island, from its size and population, is next in importance to Soloo itself.

The scenery, which presented itself to us in these wanderings, was the perfection of tropical beauty, with just sufficient cultivation to redeem it from the appearance of wildness. As we ran past the cottages and small villages on the southern shore, the inhabitants shewed

great alacrity in displaying pieces of white cloth ; we ourselves keeping a white flag constantly flying, to signify our reciprocity of good feeling, and our desire to communicate with them.

Having stood out for the melancholy purpose of committing to the deep the body of a Marine, named Allan Cameron, a second victim within the last eight-and-forty hours to the Labuan fever, we came to an anchor on the south-west side, off the principal village of Cagayan Soloo, the shoalness of the water not allowing us to approach within three miles of the landing-place.

We encountered here none of the menacing style of the rogues on the eastern side ; the people were willing to exchange cattle, poultry, and vegetables, for our articles of barter—of which red and white cottons were the most attractive ; empty bottles and midshipman's anchor-buttons fetched their full value. The residents here described those on the east side as being bad people, and I have no doubt that the humpbacked ruffian, whom we had seen there, was some noted piratical chief, who by right of might had for a time located himself on the island. Had the party we landed been composed of our less reflecting young gentlemen, instead of the senior officers, the rude manner of these people would have been in some way resented, and the chief would have avenged the mischief we had so often inflicted on those of his craft, by krising the whole party. Had this occurred, they have

so many hiding-places, that we should have had much difficulty in finding the real offenders ; the whole island would in consequence have suffered, and unavoidably some of the innocent with the guilty. Our friends in the village gently opposed any attempts on our parts to penetrate into the interior, and were anxious to get rid of us before dark. As usual, the women were carefully kept out of sight.

Captain Sir Edward Belcher, in describing his voyage in these seas, mentions having discovered in the south side of Cagayan Soloo a circular inlet of very deep water, cut off from the sea by a shallow bar. Being very anxious to find this fathomless basin, we kept a good lookout from the mast-head ; and a spot answering the description having been observed in passing, it was determined to send an exploring party the next day. This was done ; and on their return they gave such a wonderful account of the before-named curious basin, as well as of its beauty, that it was decided we should return by this route from our cruise, and, anchoring close to the basin, take an opportunity to examine it more carefully. It was to be hoped that our invalid Rajah would, by that time, be sufficiently recovered to accompany us.

December 22nd.—Weighed, and stood towards Mam-bahenauan, a small island to the southward, intending to come to for the night, but found no anchorage ; so, the sea now being comparatively clear of shoals, we stood to the eastward.

On the 23rd, the currents being very uncertain, we found ourselves among a cluster of islands which the charts did not enable us to identify. As we were groping about seas very imperfectly surveyed, this neither astonished nor alarmed us; and, while a sandy beach offered itself for the seine, and a jungle for the gun,—Christmas, too, being at hand,—we selected an eligible spot, and came to an anchor.

On Christmas Day, after the usual routine of muster and church, the ship's company were allowed to land, taking with them their dinners and small arms, and seek amusement in their own way. They appeared to enjoy themselves a great deal more than they could have done if kept on board, even with a double allowance of grog. Although upwards of a hundred men had landed, none of them fell in with a native; nevertheless, natives could not be far off, inasmuch as poultry were found running about, besides other marks of domestic life and doings. Later, however, in the evening, when our people were returning on board, I myself landed with Mr. Lonsdale; and, having strolled to the opposite side of the island, we suddenly came upon a long canoe filled with natives, armed to the teeth, with spears and kries. They were stealthily pushing through a narrow creek that was overhung and partially hid by bushes. Our astonishment was, however, mutual. After a while, seeing probably that we were only two, they made signs for us to approach; but not liking the looks of them, although each had a

double-barrelled gun, we withdrew without further communication.

On the 26th, we got under weigh, our course lying through a very pretty archipelago, whose numerous shoals made the navigation doubly interesting. On the 27th, we sighted Soloo.

CHAPTER V.

TOGLYAN—BOLOD ISLANDS—ISLAND OF BASILAN—SAMBOANGAN—SOCIABLE SOCIETY—
DEPARTURE FROM SAMBOANGAN—FLEET OF GUN-BOATS—CORAL ISLAND AND SEA
BIRDS—CAGAYAN SOLOO—DISCOVERY OF A SECOND CIRCULAR LAKE, AND
DESCRIPTION—DEPARTURE FOR BANGKOK—LABUAN—IMPROVEMENTS THERE—
SINGAPORE—ORDERED TO CHINA—ARRIVAL AT HONG KONG.

THE island of Soloo, which equals Cagayan in beauty, surpasses it in the cultivated richness of its slopes, while an improved magnificence is communicated to it from the mountains in the interior. Its length, from east to west, is about ten leagues, and its breadth four. A good sprinkling on the sea of fishing and trading boats, of picturesque build and rig, gave to this place a pleasing appearance of life and animation, such as we had not before witnessed. It was late when we came to an anchor here ; but, the ship having been seen from the high land long before, we were not surprised by the appearance of some bustle taking place in the town : this was evidenced by the number of lights moving about throughout the night. We imagined, and found it afterwards to be the case, that they were removing their

valuables, with their women and children, to the mountains, as a precaution in the event of our visit being of a hostile nature.

The next morning we found ourselves off the city of Soloo (also named Soog), the capital of the Soloo Empire, and the abode of its Sultan,—who was at one time all-powerful throughout these seas, his influence extending to the north and eastern coasts of Borneo. I have already mentioned that, in 1775, the Soloos attacked and drove the British from Balambangan. Soloo had, even then, long been an emporium not only of regular traders from most nations, but the head-quarters of those piratical marauders who there found a ready market for enslaved victims and heterogeneous plunder—and whose descendants, to this day, are both proud and emulous of the deeds of their ancestors.

We had looked forward with much interest to our visit to Soloo, and were not, on the whole, disappointed—though, perhaps, it may be considered rather curious than very interesting. The English ensign was flying over the house which we at once knew must be that of Mr. Windham, a gentleman who had for some time been connected with these people in a commercial way, and resident among them. An officer was sent to communicate with him and obtain information. The town is built partly on land and partly on the sea. That part which is on the land, and which might almost be called the citadel, was, at the time of our visit, strongly

stockaded and flanked with batteries mounting heavy guns. The Spaniards have since destroyed these works and carried off the guns—a measure which is to be regretted. The Sultan, under the influence and counsel of the Rajah of Sarawak, had become opposed to piracy, and anxious for its suppression. His fortified position gave him weight, which he had frequently thrown into the scale of humanity: and it must now be feared that many, whom he was able to hold in check, will again follow their evil propensities unrestrained, as they did under previous dynasties. The resentment of Spain, as visited on the Sultan of Soloo, seems equally impolitic and unjust. The pretext was piracy, of which some solitary instance may very possibly have been established against a Soloo prahu: but the Sultan was certainly sincere in his wish to co-operate against that system. There is ground to fear that national jealousy was desirous of striking its puny blow at an European rival, through the degradation of the Sultan of Soloo,—that he has incurred, in fact, the resentment of the Spanish colonial governors, by those commercial treaties with ourselves which were but lately concluded by Sir James Brooke.

That portion of the town which is not within the stockades is built in regular Malay fashion, on piles. The houses run in rows, or streets; and outside of them is a platform about six feet wide to walk upon. This is supported underneath by a light scaffolding of bamboo. These rows of birdcage-looking buildings extend into the

sea for half a mile, over a shoal which is nearly dry at low water. The population is numerous ; composed principally of fishermen and Chinese traders. The said platform runs the whole length of the rows ; and its planks were so carelessly thrown across, that it seemed wonderful how the children could escape, if they always did escape, falling through the yawning spaces which invited them to a watery, or a muddy grave ; they were crawling about these rickety stages in vast numbers : if the tide was out when they fell, they would be received into three feet deep of soft mud, supposing always that they did not break their little backs across the gunwales of the canoes beneath, which were made fast to the scaffolding. Mr. Windham's house was one of those thus situated ; and at low water it was necessary for us, who wore shoes and stockings, to be carried from the boat, and deposited on his accommodation-ladder, where a kind welcome awaited us. We found him dressed in Malay costume ; and, from long residence among them, he had assumed much of both the appearance and manner of a native. He willingly undertook the task of communicating with the Sultan, and arranging an audience for Sir James Brooke.

The usual salutes were exchanged. Mr. Windham informed us that a short time previously, when he was absent attending the pearl-fishing at the Ceroo Islands, two Dutch men-of-war had arrived at Soloo, who, after visiting and exchanging the usual salutes, suddenly

attacked the town : this accounted for the panic on the night of our arrival. The Dutchmen, having fired on the town for some time, landed and burnt a few houses, paying Mr. Windham the compliment of making particular inquiries for his, which they destroyed, with much valuable property. The watering-place deserves particular notice, —a lovely spot, about a mile and a half to the eastward of the town, in a small bight of white sand. The water, after being filtered through some hundred yards of porous rock, came welling out in several places through the sand, about high-water mark, and as clear as crystal. On one side of this little bay, and close to the springs, grew a magnificent tree of, I think, the Banyan species, throwing its shade over an acre of ground. It was a striking object ; and served as the trysting-tree, where on market-days the mountaineers met the townspeople, to exchange commodities. A mutual distrust appeared to subsist between them, the highlanders seldom going into the town, nor the townsmen to the mountains.

The country people are tributary to the Sultan, though often refractory subjects ; and a system of clanship appears to prevail amongst them. Mr. Windham pointed out to us a spot on the beach, between the watering-place and the town, as the scene of public executions ; he also informed us that the capital crime most abhorred and most severely punished—on the system, as we supposed, of “ honour amongst thieves ”—was theft. The criminal being bound to a frame-work, resembling St. Andrew’s

cross, is cut up with a kris at the discretion of the executioners, any one being at liberty to exercise his taste that way: death is thus rendered either lingering or instantaneous, according as the victim may be the object of popular dislike or sympathy. A real friend would dispatch him at once. Women frequently take advantage of such an opportunity of avenging themselves for some real or imaginary injury, addressing the unfortunate wretch, as they 'detach pieces of flesh from his body, in terms little suitable to the "softer sex." With the identical kris which Mr. Windham then wore,—and a desperate-looking blade it had, of a wavy form and as sharp as a razor,—he had seen a man, at one blow, cut open from the shoulder to the heart. The bodies, or fragments (for some carry their revenge so far as to mutilate the remains after life is extinct), are left to be devoured by dogs and wild pigs.

Mr. Windham took us a short walk—I fancy about as far as he dared himself venture—into the interior. What we saw of the country was highly cultivated; consisting, with intervals of jungle, of pasture grounds and gardens, very flourishing and pretty, with abundance of cattle. Our appearance excited much curiosity with the natives, and many questions were asked; but the presence and explanations of Mr. Windham satisfied them.

Before commencing our watering, it was necessary to make certain arrangements, as a French squadron under Admiral Cecille had been much molested during that

operation a short time previous, and an attempt had been made to poison the springs ; all necessary precautions, therefore, were taken on our part.

The *Jolly Bachelor* was first placed a few yards from the watering-place, which her howitzers completely covered. Our people were then strictly charged to avoid offending the natives in any way during their casual intercourse ; under these auspices, our watering progressed quickly and well.

The day after we had commenced was a market-day. The mountaineers came down in parties of from six to twelve, mounted on well-formed little horses, or oxen, according to their rank and means ; on these they sat with graceful ease, spear in hand—they were all well armed besides, with shield and kris ; in some instances also we observed the heavy two-handed Lamun sword. They had a wild and independent bearing ; and, when seen in groups, some standing, some squatting, the women all chattering, under the wide-spreading tree, they much increased the interest of the already picturesque scene. They seemed indifferent as to the sale of their stock, which was conducted chiefly by the women, who freely accompanied them, and were by no means ill-favoured. The townspeople, who met and traded with these mountaineers, were dressed in gayer colours, but not so well armed. The stock brought by the latter was small—a few fowls, eggs, vegetables, and fruit being their staple commodities ; these were exchanged for cottons,

tinsels, and other baubles. Altogether, though the market on this occasion was well attended, the trade was slack ; but I doubt not that, in the palmy days of active piracy, a considerable amount of business was transacted under the old Banyan tree.

The fruit at Soloo is plentiful and good ; the mangoes are not so good as those in the Phillipine Islands, but the oranges are equal to those of China or of any other country. There is the jack and bread-fruit tree, the far-famed mangostein, also the pine-apple, and the highly-prized, but offensive smelling durian ; cocoa nuts of course, and a great variety of plantain and banana, and others whose names I forget. Cinnamon, ginger, and various spices likewise grow ; in fact, the soil appeared capable of producing whatever the natives might take the trouble to cultivate.

We did not consider it prudent to venture into the interior on shooting excursions, but we heard that there were partridges and quail, wild ducks, snipe, and teal. Monkeys, doves, and pigeons we saw. The beef we found particularly good. We went to see what they call their races, which were held in an open space not far from the town. We observed groups of savage, but picturesque-looking men, mounted on spirited, strong-built little horses, of the Manilla or Spanish breed ; these men were generally well armed, bearing each a spear or lance. Presently, one man would dash out from the rest as a challenge ; then a man from another group, or perhaps from the same,

would ride up alongside ; then both would start off in a line of their own choosing, at a brisk trot, at which kind of pace the races were generally contested. On several occasions I noticed a ruffian, apparently mounted no better than his neighbours, start out from the crowd,—still no one seemed to accept the challenge. These men I found were a sort of bravo, whom nobody cared to quarrel with, which such an offence as beating them at a race would be sure to end in. When any of these known characters came out, they were loudly cheered by the spectators. Their seat and gait were awkward in the extreme, but they did not seem to think so, and I should not have willingly ventured to tell them so.

December 30th was the day appointed for Sir James Brooke's interview with the Sultan of Soloo. We landed in full costume at ten o'clock. Having walked over the sea suburbs, and arrived at the beach, we found a guard of honour and attendants waiting to conduct Sir James to the Sultan's presence : they were a motley group, but made themselves useful in clearing the way.

Passing within the outer stockade, we arrived, after a few minutes' walk, at the royal residence. It was walled in and fortified : a large space was inclosed by double rows of heavy piles driven into the earth, about five feet apart, and the space was filled up with large stones and earth, making a very solid wall of about fifteen feet in height, having embrasures, or rather port-holes, in convenient places for cannon,—out of which we noticed the rusty

muzzles of some very heavy guns protruding. A great part of the town was stockaded in a similar way ; and the country houses of the Datus and mountain chiefs of any importance were also walled in, and had guns mounted.

Passing through a massive gateway, pretty well flanked with guns and loopholes, we entered a large court, in which some two thousand persons were assembled, armed, and in their best apparel, but observing no sort of order : it was a wild and novel sight. Malays are always armed. The kris to them is what the sword was to an English gentleman in the feudal times. Every person who, by virtue of his rank or on any other pretext, could gain admittance, was in attendance on this occasion ; for our Rajah had become a justly celebrated man in the great Eastern Archipelago, and was an object of curiosity.

We were conducted through the crowd to a corner of the court-yard, where a building, inferior to a small English barn, was pointed out as the Sultan's palace. We entered it by a flight of broad wooden steps (for the palace was raised on piles), through a narrow passage thronged with guards,—and we found ourselves in the royal presence.

The audience-chamber was not very large : a table, covered with green cloth, ran across the centre of it ; above the table, and round the upper end of the room, sat a very brilliant semicircle of personages, the Sultan occupying a raised seat in the middle. The *cortège*

consisted of his Grand Vizier, the members of the royal family, and the great Datus and officers of State. Behind these stood the guards and attendants, dressed in silks, the colours being according to the fancy of their respective masters.

The Sultan gave us a gracious reception, shaking hands with each officer as he was presented. This ceremony over, chairs were placed for Sir James and his suite ; while those of our party, who could not get seats, formed a semicircle on the other side of the table. The scene was striking and gay.

The Sultan is a young-looking man, but with a dull and vacant expression, produced by the too free use of opium : his lips were red with the mixture of betel-nut and cere-leaf, which he chewed.

He was dressed in rich silks, red and green the predominant colours. A large jewel sparkled in his turban, and he wore jewels also profusely on his person.

The hilt of his kris, the great distinguishing ornament of all Malays, was beautifully decorated with gold wire, curiously twisted in. Immediately behind the Sultan, in closest attendance on his person, stood the *cup-bearer*, a fine young man dressed in green silk, who held in his hand a purple finger-glass, which was constantly held to his royal master's mouth, to receive the filthy-looking mixture which is in such favour with these people,—composed of the juice of the betel leaf, with the areca-nut and gambier. The other personages composing the circle

were dressed with equal gaudiness, in bright silks ; in the selection, however, of their colours they displayed considerable taste. Many of the guards were dressed in very ancient chain-armour, consisting of skull-caps and tunics, covering the arms and reaching from the throat to the knee.

Those armed with sword, spear, and kris did not look amiss ; but two sentries, placed to guard the entrance to this ancient hall of audience, each shouldering a very shabby-looking old Tower musket, of which they looked very proud, had an absurd effect.

After a reasonable time passed by each party in admiration of the other, the conversation was opened by Sir James Brooke, who, as Her Majesty's Commissioner in these regions, submitted to the Sultan certain propositions on matters of business.

To these His Majesty expressed his willingness to accede ; and he graciously reminded Sir James that the royal family of Soloo were under considerable obligations to the English ; inasmuch as his great grand-father, Sultan Amir, having been once upon a time imprisoned by the Spaniards in the fortress of Manilla, was delivered from durance vile and reinstated on the throne of his ancestors by Alexander Dalrymple,—A.D. 1763. This was now the more liberal on the part of His Majesty, because his royal ancestor had not at the time allowed the service to be altogether unrequited ; for he ceded to the English Government a fine island adjoining Soloo (of

which, by the bye, no use appears to have been made), together with the north end of Borneo and the south end of Palawan, with the intervening islands.

At length we took leave of His Majesty, retiring in much the same order as that in which we had entered. Although no actual treaty was concluded with the Sultan, Sir James paved the way for opening up commerce, and for cultivating a better understanding with the natives.

In the afternoon we visited one Datu Daniel, a powerful chief, very friendly, and well disposed towards the English. His stronghold was at a short distance in the country, at the foot of one of the mountain slopes, fortified in much the same way as the Sultan's, but on a smaller scale ; his stockades were, however, quite as strong, and his guns in better order. His enclosed court, being likewise a farm-yard with a good supply of live stock, looked as if he was better prepared than his royal master to stand a long siege : his wives looked happy, his children merry ; and, on the whole, his domestic life appeared tolerably comfortable.

The terms, on which the Sultan appeared to live with his great vassals, very much resembled the feudal system of the Middle Ages.

The fact, that any man putting his foot on British soil becomes free, and that the deck of a man-of-war was all the same as British soil, seemed to be "a dodge" perfectly understood by the Soloo chiefs ; and, during the stay of

Her Majesty's ship *Maander*, all the slaves were carefully locked up like other live stock, with the exception of a few old servants, who, having received such long-continued kindness as to be slaves in name only, were trusted by their masters. Gratitude, however, is as rare in Soloo as elsewhere ; and about a dozen of these faithful well-fed slaves were fools enough to find their way on board the *Maander*, to be landed at the next port at which we might touch, and there to starve as free men. Their usual plan was to sneak alongside at night, cling hold of the chain-plates, kick the canoe adrift—which they had in all probability stolen—and then make a noise until helped up the side, when they imagined themselves Britishers. Every one of these whom we questioned appeared to have been treated by their owners with the greatest confidence and kindness.

Considering that Soloo was the great commercial centre of these seas, we were surprised at not seeing more large prahus ; there were none afloat, and very few hauled up ; the number, however, of building-sheds and blacksmiths' forges showed that they have the means of starting into activity at short notice.

Mr. Windham had been trying to persuade the Soloos to bear a flag with a St. George's Cross in their trading prahus, as a badge of peaceful mercantile occupation, by which they might be known to our cruisers ; but this suggestion had not yet been adopted.

We quitted the Soloo capital with some regret, and ran

down the coast, intending to visit the island of Toolyan, said to belong to the English. The scenery, although there was no Kini-Balu for a back-ground, was more beautiful than any we had yet seen, and quite answers to the following description by Mr. Hunt: "There are few landscapes in the world that exhibit a more delightful appearance than the sea-coasts of Soloo; the luxuriant variety of the enchanting hills exhibits a scenery hardly ever equalled, and certainly never surpassed by the pencil of the artist. Some with majestic woods that wave their lofty heads to the very summits; others with rich pasturage delightfully verdant, with here and there patches burnt for cultivation, which form an agreeable contrast with enamelled meads; others, again, exhibit cultivation to the mountain-top, chequered with groves affording a grateful variety to the eye;—in a word, it only requires the decorations of art and civilised life to form a terrestrial paradise." It was dark before we anchored off the island of Toolyan. Our arrival caused the same consternation as at Soloo, the same noise, and flitting about of lights; until one fine fellow, braver than the rest, determined to risk his life for the good of the community and paddled himself alongside, when our pacific intentions were made known, and confidence was at once established.

This island is separated from Soloo by a narrow strait. It appeared well cultivated,—the people industrious, and much more peaceably inclined than their neighbours. There were gardeners on shore, and fishermen afloat,

ready to supply our wants in their respective departments ; we did not, however, trouble them, but proceeded, after a short visit, on our course for Samboangan.

The excitement and interest of our voyage rather increasing as we proceeded, on the 5th we anchored off the Bolod Islands, and landed to search for the eggs of a bird, which from the description given to us we supposed to be the *Megapodius*. In this we were unsuccessful, some natives having not long before visited these islands for the same purpose. We found some heaps of rubbish, comprising sea-weed, stones, and sticks, which had evidently constituted the materials of these birds' nests. A description of this singular bird and of its nest, from the more able pen of my friend the Rajah of Sarawak, will be found in a later portion of this work.

On the 8th, we anchored off the west coast of the island of Basilan,—the largest of the Soloo Archipelago,—on which the Spaniards have established a small settlement, though not without much trouble, the inhabitants being hostile and warlike, and keeping their garrison constantly on the alert. The French squadron, under Admiral Cecille, sustained some loss in an attack by boats on a part of this island. The next day we worked our way between numerous small, but beautiful islands, only regretting that we had not time to explore them. At 9 P.M. we came to, in eleven fathoms, off the fort of Samboangan ; and on the following morning we saluted the Spanish flag. The settlement is on the south part

of the southernmost island of the Phillipine group, and its population is reinforced by convicts sent from Manilla. It is situated near the great Lanun Bay, the inhabitants of which are the fiercest and most warlike of all these islanders, and are celebrated for their piratical propensities. There is no part of the great Eastern Archipelago, as far even as the Malacca Straits, that has not, at some time or another, suffered from these freebooters. Samboangan has a strong fort ; the gun-boats are very efficient, and keep this part of the Soloo sea in tolerable order. Our tender, having arrived before us, had already exchanged civilities with the authorities, and prepared them for our visit.

The town is extensive, and is, with the exception of the residences of the officials, built in the native fashion.

We much enjoyed a few days in this comparatively civilised place. Owing to the clever management, as well as the good taste, of the Governor, Don Cayetano de Figueroa, Colonel of engineers, a very sociable system of society prevailed, uniting all classes,—the proud Spanish dames not refusing to meet in the same ball-room the pretty half-caste girls, who during the mornings were engaged in washing the officers' clothes, or retailing eggs and poultry in the market.

The hospitality of the Governor provided for us, at his own residence early every morning, first a cup of excellent chocolate ; and after our light breakfast, horses being in readiness, he would kindly accompany us in

some picturesque ride, conducting us by the most interesting routes, and pointing out everything worth seeing. The settlement of Samboangan lies within narrow boundaries.

The sovereignty of these islands is claimed by the Spaniards; but it would scarcely have been prudent to venture farther into the interior than the first range of mountains, in reliance on the protection of any civilised power, inasmuch as a very hostile attitude is still maintained by the "ultramontane" aborigines.

In the immediate vicinity of the town the land was highly cultivated, and the scenery very picturesque, with a pleasing variety of extensive pasture grounds. In our rides we were generally attended by boys carrying our guns, the woods abounding in varieties of doves and pigeons.

We had dances and dinners on shore and on board, and it was at length with no small regret on our parts, that we took leave of our kind and hospitable friends.

There is much in these regions to interest the conchologist, and to reward his patient researches among the rocks and sea-weeds. Finding that I was a collector in this pleasing department of natural history, the officers of the Spanish Marine freely supplied me from their own stores with some very beautiful additions to my cabinet, especially of the *Spondylus* and *Chama*.

On the 14th of January we left Samboangan, getting

under weigh in company with such a fleet of gun-boats as would have done credit to any nation.

It must be confessed that, in *systematic* protection to the commerce of their respective seas, both Spain and Holland infinitely surpass our own country, so far as she has at present shown any determination to crush this evil in the latitudes where English influence alone could do so. The Spaniards, alive to the truth that commerce and piracy cannot co-exist, have long maintained such a naval force as has not only driven away, but *keeps* at a distance from the Phillipine Islands, those hordes who used to inflict on their marine traffic such sacrifice of life and merchandise. Some of the most formidable hordes now existing are composed of, or maintained by, fugitive princes and nobles, who have been, by Spanish vigilance, chased away from the Bay of Magindano, and other places within the protection of that flag. The Dutch, true to the same policy, and perhaps even more happy in its exercise, have, by a system of energetic vigilance along the whole coast of Java, not only to a great extent eradicated piracy from the Celebes, but have in many instances converted freebooters into fishermen, murderers into merchants or agriculturists. What becomes, however, of the remnant—of those for whom, as a vocation, murder and rapine have superior charms? They, of course, must find a *sea of impunity*; establish themselves on the least protected coast—the least cared-for expanse of ocean; where, if they ever do happen to surpass themselves in

atrocity, punishment is so uncertain, and, when it does fall, so transient, as just to add the charm of speculation and excitement to the other charms of piracy. Casting about for such an eligible cruising-ground, the expelled of the Phillipines and the Celebes find it exactly to their mind in those seas where commerce has the strongest claims to the protection of the British flag—the flag of that humane, incredulous nation, which will believe no harm of those poor men in “boats,”* and will take a strict account of any one who injures them.

Surely when Spain, whose trade is so insignificant, compared with ours,—when Holland, whose trade, if it equals, certainly does not exceed our own,—when these nations find it true economy to provide systematically and effectually against the evils of piracy, surely England, the nation of shopkeepers, mistress of the seas — England who expends her millions in a more doubtful cause on the coast of Africa—might expend something (and I think it need not be much) in a cause which offers more substantial temptations, which promises, on the experience of other nations, more satisfactory results, which *involves* questions of *slavery and massacre*, and which demands of us in the name of commerce and humanity such *permanent* arrangements, as shall make it impossible for any of those communities within our reach,—and where would they be beyond it, if we were in earnest?—to gain so much by a lawless

* “It appeared, from the class of boats used by the Dyaks, that it was impossible they could be pirates.”—MR. HUME.

and desperate vocation as to encourage them to persist in it, against our unsparing and inevitable visitations.

Of the achievements of Spain in this righteous cause we have no such detailed particulars as Holland has furnished us, in the instructive compilation of M. De Groot.

From this I hastily set down a few passages, which may be at once our shame and our encouragement ; although, from the occasional tone of the document, it would appear that the Dutch are not very earnest in desiring our co-operation : commercial jealousy seems to suggest to them some counterbalancing evil :—

“ In the year 1826 the Dutch force engaged in this service alone was, two corvettes, eight large brigs, five small brigs, eighteen gun-boats—of which the Dutch Admiral reports, that it has answered the end for which it was instituted, having *scattered* as much as possible the numerous and formidable pirates. . . . We are surrounded by small islands, which are so many nests of pirates ; but our *uninterrupted cruising*s have prevented them from making descents upon our coasts, and carrying off the inhabitants to their haunts as slaves ; and they have successfully protected the coasting trade.”—Page 79.

“ In order to meet the evils of piracy in the Indian Archipelago, the Dutch Governor-General equipped a flotilla of schooners, of small draft of water, which, at fixed periods, in concert with the ships of the Royal and Colonial Navy, undertook expeditions against the pirates. *Every year* they followed them up even to their haunts, to make an example of them, to burn their ships, to carry off their arms, and to spread terror and confusion among the pirates themselves.”—Page 81.

“ We do not well understand,” says an able pamphlet quoted by

M. de Groot, "how the Dutch Government of India *can* have acted with too much rigour against bandits, who do not content themselves with plundering and capturing vessels and merchandise, but who sell as slaves, or mercilessly massacre, all whom they find on board their vessels."—Page 105.

"Four hundred pirates," says a Dutch Report of 1836—1840, "were established as agriculturists at Saleyer, to the south of Celebes. The pirates to the north of Borneo were punished. The English intervention prevented more being done in these countries."—Page 103.

"These forces do not, as formerly, meet in the islands of Bouton. Their power has gradually increased to the south of the Archipelago; and it is astonishing what a number of prahus are there at present. I attribute it to the great number of losses they have sustained on the coast of Celebes and the neighbouring islands for some years past. The defeat which they experienced in 1827, near Tana Tjampca, convinced them that, on every other point of the coast of Celebes or its neighbourhood, they would be exposed to similar surprises, and could no longer reckon on a sure retreat in those latitudes. On watching their movements since then, it will be easily observed that the pirates have no longer a fixed place of meeting, as if they had not yet determined on a convenient spot from which to start. It is, no doubt, of paramount importance to them to choose a well-situated spot for their sphere of action, *at a distance from our power.*"—Page 94.

"Wherever *our* power cannot extend, the slave-trade is still possible, and piracy, committed with the object of carrying away human beings, has not yet ceased."—Page 119.

"Even the English papers have often rendered justice to the zeal and efficacious measures of the Dutch Government to suppress piracy in the Indian Archipelago; and the comparison drawn by these papers, between the efforts made in favour of that cause by the British Government and our own, is not in favour of the

English. . . . The success of the measures adopted will cause the name of the Dutch to be held in honour among commercial nations. But piracy has taken too deep root in the Indian Archipelago to render the power and good-will of the Dutch Government sufficient to eradicate it."—Page 120.*

The whole system of piracy, throughout that part of the Eastern Archipelago in which we are interested, might be effectually suppressed, the trade protected, and the duties of the Malacca Straits performed, at a cost not equalling that of the ships of war occasionally employed on that station ; but I repeat that the force so employed must be permanent.

It is difficult to calculate the good that might be done, the benefit that would accrue to the cause of humanity, and the vast trade that would as assuredly spring up, were protection thus secured to it by the right description of force, judiciously applied under an intelligent and active officer.

The position of Sir James Brooke, and his experience, would render his co-operation most valuable, and I am sure it would be always readily afforded.

Without some such measures, I am equally assured that all our late operations will soon have been in vain ; and, in proportion as the proceedings of other nations are well organised, we shall suffer by the incompleteness of our own.

On the 16th January, observing a sand-bank to the

* Parliamentary Paper relating to Piracies in the Indian Archipelago, 1851.

north-west not mentioned in Horsburgh nor in any of our charts, we hauled up, intending to anchor near it, and ascertain its correct position. We gradually reduced the quantity of sail set, as we neared the island ; and so, with the leads going in the chains, look-out men at the mast-head, and an occasional cast of the deep-sea lead, we approached the lee-side, and got within cable's length of the beach without obtaining bottom at 120 fathoms. A line of breakers with overfalls extended off the north-west end, having the appearance of a shelf of rocks ; but these proved to be nothing but a tide ripple, as we stood into them. The island was very small, and had the same appearance all round. On landing, we found a patch of glaring white sand without a vestige of vegetation, surrounded by a belt of coral about a mile and a half in circumference, and so steep that I believe we might have rubbed the sides of the *Maander* against it, without obtaining bottom with the hand-leads. The centre was covered with a variety of sea-birds ; their new-laid eggs proved excellent eating. The birds themselves were in every stage of growth—from the little gaping nudity, just introduced into the world, to the old full-grown guardians of their progeny, which shrieked and hovered over our heads, disputing our landing so pertinaciously that we were obliged to knock them down with sticks, while on the wing, two or three at a time.

We found on this lonely coral island the solitary grave of a Mussulman. Here was, indeed, a resting-place likely

to be undisturbed ; a spot where the pilgrim of any creed,

“ His life being weary of these worldly bars,
Might wish for power to dismiss itself,”

or, as the Koran hath it, “ might envy the quiet dead, and say, Would to God I were in thy place.” Nevertheless, a sublimer grave than the coral rock—according to my idea—was close at hand. There can scarcely be a moment more impressive than when “ we commit a body to the *deep* ; *there* to look for the resurrection of the body, when the *sea* shall give up its dead.” No doubt, however, an earthly—even a coral—tomb had superior recommendations for the Mussulman. He could repose in the right position for his *prophet’s* tomb ; he could have at his head the well-known symbol of the turban, rudely carved, in this instance, out of a piece of wood. Above all, those who closed his eyes could also prepare him by their friendly prompting for the interrogation of the examining angels. “ When they say to thee, ‘ Who is thy Lord ? ’ answer, ‘ God is my Lord,’ in truth ; and when they ask thee concerning thy prophet, say unto them, ‘ Mahomet is the Apostle of God,’ with veracity ; and when they ask thee concerning thy religion, say unto them, ‘ Islamism is my religion ;’ and when they ask thee concerning thy book of direction, say to them, ‘ The Koran is my book of direction—and I have lived and died in the assertion that there is no deity but God ; and Mahomet is God’s Apostle.’—And *they* will say, ‘ Sleep, O servant of God, in the protection of God.’ ” Had the deceased

son of Islam been committed to the deep, he would probably have reached one of the “dark unfathom'd caves of ocean,” before these instructions could have been pronounced from the funeral rites of the Mahometan. I have often watched the ominous-looking mass, as it sunk slowly, with a gentle swing from side to side, down the transparent depths, until it disappeared in the abyss, and left the most thoughtless of those whose eyes had followed it solemnly—and not always transiently—fixed on the realities of that purer faith which accompanies the CHRISTIAN sailor round the world. I believe that not a few may refer to a sailor's funeral for the time when they first said, “God is my Lord,” in truth ; and “The son of God is *my* prophet,” in veracity ; and, taking *His* faith for their religion, and *His* Book for their “Book of direction,” have lived and died, so that the devout Mahometan shall not shame them on the day when all shall meet.

“ Qui nescit orare,
Diseat navigare.”

Graceless art thou as to pray' ?
Go to sea—thou'll learn it there.

“ According to the Moslem creed, the souls of the faithful hover, in a state of seraphic tranquillity, near their tombs. Hence, the Moslem usage of visiting the graves of their departed friends, in the idea that their souls are the gratified witnesses of these testimonials of affection.” *

* Washington Irving.

Not very likely is it that the tenant of the coral rock will often receive this pleasure from the friend who closed his eyes. The wild screams of the sea-birds seemed singularly incompatible with seraphic tranquillity.

We made the shoal in latitude $8^{\circ} 4' 34''$ N., and $119^{\circ} 17' 30''$ E. longitude.

On the 17th, we came to, in ten fathoms, about a mile off the south side of Cagayan, and immediately commenced our examination of the curious circular lake before mentioned, of which we had reserved the examination for this opportunity. The entrance is by a gap about fifty yards wide ; this, however, is crossed by a bank of coral, which extends along the whole south coast, and at low water is nearly dry, so as to exclude any boat larger than a canoe. Just outside the middle of the bar was a small island of rock and sandstone, with a sufficient shelter of bushes to make an excellent shaded spot for our pic-nic. On passing the bar, we found ourselves inside a magnificent circular lake of deep blue water ; its circumference was about three miles. It was completely encircled by sandstone cliffs, upwards of 200 feet in height, and nearly perpendicular : their sides were covered with trees and shrubs. In the natural barriers of this remarkable enclosure only two small breaks occurred ; one was the gap by which we entered ; the other was on the E.N.E. side.

From the inside, the little island at the entrance had all the appearance of having once filled the gap, and

looked as if it had been forced out into the sea by some internal pressure. The break which I mentioned on the north-east side did not come lower than within seventy or eighty feet of the water's edge, and was partially concealed by the thick foliage of the jungle and forest-trees. In sounding, we found the depth of water to vary from fifty to sixty fathoms, and it appeared to be as deep at the sides as in the centre. Nothing could be more beautifully luxuriant than the growth of the jungle-trees of every description, their trunks and branches covered with an endless variety of beautiful creepers in brilliant blossom, hanging in festoons to the very water's edge. Over our heads, disturbed by such unusual visitors, numbers of pigeons flew to and fro; while many varieties of the parrot screamed their remonstrances at our intrusion. Forming ourselves into small parties, we dispersed—some to haul the seine, some to search for shells, while a third party explored the gap on the north-east side, clambering up without any anticipation of a further treat which was in reserve for them. At a height of about ninety feet, another beautiful lake burst on their astonished sight, circular in form, and as nearly as possible similar to that which they had just left. The two lakes were separated by a sort of natural wall; and the spectator standing on its narrow edge could, by a mere turn of the head, look down either on the inner lake at a depth of thirty feet, or on the outer eighty feet beneath him, almost perpendicularly. The water of the higher or inner

lake was perfectly fresh ; but it may be observed that while it is called the *inner* lake, because we approached it *through* the other, it is, in fact, very little further inland than the first.

This grand discovery being communicated to the other rambling parties, curiosity became here concentrated. Men and axes were procured from the ship ; the trees were cut down, and a road made up the gap, and so over to the fresh-water lake. A raft was then constructed, and, together with a small boat belonging to the tender, was very shortly launched upon the upper water.

Our operations soon drew some of the natives to the spot, who expostulated on our proceedings, informing us that the waters of the lake were sacred, and had never yet been desecrated by the presence or by the pressure of an earthly canoe ; that the Spirit of the Lake (by description a Fiery Dragon of the worst order) would not fail to manifest his displeasure at the innovation ; and that nothing would induce them to venture on it. These scruples were, however, got over by one of them after he had swallowed a glass of grog.

It was not until we were afloat on the inner lake, that we were enabled to form a correct idea of the beauty of its encircling barriers, and of the luxuriant vegetation which graced them. We had then also the best view of the extraordinary gap through which we had passed into it. The sandstone cliffs were more perpendicular on the fresh-water side, assuming the appearance of massive



masonry ; and the gap might be a large portal, a hundred feet in height, broken through the immense stone wall. The creepers also were hence seen to great advantage, some of them falling in most beautiful luxuriance the whole length from the summit of the surrounding heights to the water's edge. The lake may at one time, by some convulsion, have risen and burst through its barriers at this spot into the lower basin ; which in turn may, by a similar process, have formed the gap in the outer side, and then subsided to its present sea level. Such was the appearance which it had to us.

Taken altogether, we had certainly here presented to us a great natural curiosity. I should have added that the cliffs on the lake-side were intersected at regular distances by a stratum of conglomerate ; and the whole scene was so novel and so peculiar as to render description difficult. The natives having spoken of the existence of other similar lakes at no great distance, we explored in the direction to which they guided us, but made no new discoveries. The sacred bottom of the lake was dredged by the conchologists of our party, but without finding any shells.

We left the shore not a little proud of having discovered an object of curiosity which had escaped so keen an observer as Sir Edward Belcher, who, though he had the honour of finding the lower basin, was not aware of the existence of the far more wonderful lake above. There is no knowing how far even a

member of the Royal Yacht squadron may extend his rovings in these days of enterprise. I may commend, therefore, to the excursionist in the Soloo sea a visit to this our interesting discovery, certain that he will thank me for so doing.

A ship may obtain good fresh water from a small trickling stream, which permeates through the barrier, near the gap, into the basin below; but it should be so arranged that the laden boats pass the coral reef off the coast, before the tide falls too low.

On the 20th, we took up our old berth in the south-west bay of Cagayan Soloo, and commenced an active barter for stock; this, however, was brought to a sudden conclusion on the 22nd, the natives taking fright at our shell practice. We were exercising at general quarters, and a few of them had remained to see the shot strike the target; but the double report produced by these missiles, and the shower of perils which they emit at last, were on the whole too much for Soloo nerves; and so they left us.

Sailed on the 23rd, making for the northward of Banguey; and, having anchored occasionally, on the 26th we ran between that island and Balambangan, and again came to, near the remnant of the wreck of the *Minerva*.

On the 28th, we came to in Victoria Bay, Labuan; and soon after we landed our Governor, restored to comparative health.

Much had been done during our short absence. More comfortable residences had been erected on the higher

ground ; and that great step towards civilisation, a good road, had been made to the buildings on the plain, which were now only used as offices.

The troops were comfortable and contented.

Mr. Low, whom we had left in an apparently dying state, had under the care of his amiable wife so far recovered as to be able to superintend the cultivation of the portion of ground allotted to him ; and, although the soil was not superior, enough had been accomplished to prove that it was capable of producing all tropical fruits and vegetables.

Deer and wild hog were plentiful ; few, however, had been killed ; although, in Captain Hamilton, the garrison contained one of the keenest and best sportsmen in the East.

The communication with the coal district, which was the great attraction, was still by water only. Until ceded to the Eastern Archipelago Company, the coal seam had been rented by an adventurer named Miles, once Lloyd, who had managed to enrich himself by picking merely the surface of the seam close to the water's edge, and selling it for the use of the Government steamers at the rate of £1 per ton.

On the 30th, we sailed for Singapore.

On the 2nd of February, in running between the Anambas Islands, of which we had in our possession a recent French survey, we suddenly observed breakers a-head, and had barely time to sheer clear of a small and

dangerous shoal which had escaped the vigilance of Monsieur Paris, of *La Favorite*. Its position, by cross bearings, was Tokong Island N.N.E., Sra Island W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.

On the 3rd, we again anchored in Singapore Roads. We here found orders to proceed to China, the Commander-in-Chief thinking it advisable to have a force ready, in case the Government should think it necessary to enforce the treaty made with the Chinese Government by Sir John Davis, in 1847, by which the gates of the city of Canton were to be opened to strangers.

This treaty was likely to be disregarded by the Chinese, according to opportunity, when the immediate danger should be removed, having been made at the bayonet's point, while our troops were in possession of the environs of the Imperial city. There was now among its population a growing disposition to dispute with their Government the idea of admitting the Barbarians of the outer waters.

Having received on board, through the cabin windows, a huge spar 96 feet in length, to make a government flag-staff, with a topmast and yard to match—which no other ship on the station could or would carry,—we sailed on the 17th for China. We shaped our course so as to communicate with Sarawak and Labuan, and worked up the Palawan coast.

We then steered for the Pratas, and made that dangerous shoal N.E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. from the mast head on the morning of the 29th March, having been set twenty-five miles to the westward during the night. The

following day at noon, we ran into Hong Kong by the Lyemoon passage. In addition to the *Hastings*, flag-ship, we found many of the China squadron, comprising the *Scout*, *Pilot*, *Columbine*, *Albatross*, sloops ; with the *Fury* and *Inflexible*, steamers. We were shocked to hear that our worthy and respected chief, Sir Francis Collier, had sustained a paralytic stroke.

The 10th April arriving—the day on which the gates of Canton should have been opened, and perhaps would have been, had the Canton mob been kept in the same subjection as the London mob was on that famous day—the Admiral, finding that there was no intention on the part of our Government to enforce the Davis Treaty, sailed in the *Inflexible* to visit the northern ports ; he ordered the *Hastings* to Singapore, dispersed the sloops—the *Albatross* to Borneo, and the others to their respective stations at the ports in China, which were opened to trade by the Pottinger Treaty. The *Mæander* was left to take care of Hong Kong.

CHAPTER VI.

PIRACY IN THE CHINA SEAS—REGATTA AT MACAO—IMPRISONMENT OF MR. SUMMERS—INTERVIEW ON THE SUBJECT WITH THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNOR—MEASURES TAKEN FOR THE LIBERATION OF MR. SUMMERS—THIS SUBJECT REVIEWED—PARTICULARS OF THE ASSASSINATION OF GOVERNOR DO AMARAL, AND SUBSEQUENT EVENTS—EXPLOSION OF THE DONA MARIA FRIGATE.

NOTHING unusual took place during our stay here. Various acts of piracy, attended with cruel murders, occurred between Hong Kong and the entrance to the Canton River; but this could not be called unusual. Some of the rogues were taken by the *Inflexible*, and six fellows were hanged at West Point; but so little effect had this example, that a fresh act of piracy was committed within sight of the suspended corpses, and within range of the sentry's musket.

The Admiral returned in the *Fury* on the 20th of May, much benefited by his trip to the northern ports. He sailed again on the 26th, leaving us to await the arrival of the *Amazon* from England. She came in on the following day, and we prepared to return to our old station in the Eastern Archipelago: but before our

departure an event occurred, which gave an unanticipated notoriety to our short sojourn here. Were I to pass it unnoticed, my motive might be mistaken; but as the narrative must unavoidably be egotistical, and the subject has perhaps lost its general interest,—my readers may now pass to the next chapter, who have no inclination to discuss a point of international law, nor to see how it was decided, for the occasion at least, by a British boat's-crew and a party of Marines.

Just before the arrival of the *Amazon*, I received an invitation through my young friend, Mr. Robert Ellice (Honorary Secretary on the occasion), to act as joint umpire with Commodore Geisinger of the United States at a regatta which had been got up chiefly by Mr. Bush, the United States Consul at Hong Kong,—he kindly giving a cup to be sailed for. The event was to come off, weather permitting, on the 8th of June. To this proposal I cheerfully acceded. As the *Medea*, Commander Lockyer, was cruising outside for the suppression of piracy, and the *Columbine*, Commander John Dalrymple Hay, was coming down from Whampoa about that time for provisions,—I wrote to each of these officers, inviting them to meet me; and, as I had to give up the charge of the station to Captain Troubridge of the *Amazon* (which could be done as well at Macao), we all agreed to meet there on the 7th. The American squadron, consisting of the *Plymouth*, the *Pebbles*, and the *Dolphin*, added to our own, made a gay show in the roads: the Hong Kong

steamers were also called into requisition, and brought nearly all those who had not found their way in the men-of-war.

Having fired the usual salute on arrival, I proceeded with Captain Troubridge on the following morning, to pay our respects to the Governor, Don Joao Maria Farreira do Amaral.

I may here mention that he was a Captain in the Portuguese navy, a gallant and distinguished officer. He lost his right arm by a cannon-shot, when eighteen years of age, while leading a storming party at Itaparica, in Brazil. He had also served in the fleet of Don Pedro, under Sir Charles Napier. He spoke and understood English as well as we did.

He received us most cordially ; and in the course of conversation said that he had broken through a rule, by accepting an invitation to dine with Mr. Forbes (an American gentleman, to whom we were likewise engaged), as he would not forego the pleasure of meeting his brother officers. Taking our leave, we proceeded to the room in which we were to arrange the starting of the vessels for the cup. At the door I was met by Captain Staveley, Military Secretary to the General commanding at Hong Kong, who requested my assistance in getting a young gentleman released, who had been imprisoned on the previous evening, he believed for not saluting the Host.

I immediately expressed my willingness to apply to the Governor, remarking, that he was a very good fellow, and

I was sure would not hesitate to comply with my request. Accordingly, Captain Troubridge and myself, accompanied by Captain Staveley, returned to the Government House. Without waiting to be announced, we proceeded at once to the apartment in which we had just before left Señor Amaral, and we found him seated with the French Chargé-d'affaires, M. le Baron de Forth Rouen. I apologised for the intrusion; but His Excellency rising accompanied me to one of the windows. I then stated that I was come to ask a favour—that he would be so kind as to give an order for the release of a Mr. Summers, who, it appeared, had been confined in the common prison all night, for not saluting the Host. I concluded by remarking that, in all probability, His Excellency had heard nothing of the business. To this he sharply replied, that not only did he know all about it, but that the person in question had been confined by his order. I then remarked to His Excellency that the punishment (Mr. Summers having been confined in the common jail, without food, since five o'clock the previous afternoon) had surely been equal to the offence; and I again expressed a hope that the Governor would order his release. On this he stated that Mr. Summers was sent to prison, not for any disrespect to the Host,—“*for which he* (the Governor) *cared perhaps as little as I did*,”—but for disobeying his (the Governor’s) order. I inquired, “What order?”—He replied, “The order he gave him to take his hat off.” I then asked “whether I understood the Governor rightly—whether he

could order any person he chose to take his hat off in the open streets?" To this he said, "Exactly so." I then said that this altered the case, and that I must now request the immediate liberation of Mr. Summers, as I could not consider that the alleged offence, for which he was imprisoned, was any crime at all. I further added, that I could hardly believe that I had heard now, in the nineteenth century, the Governor of a Portuguese settlement assert that he had imprisoned a British subject for refusing to take his hat off in the open streets, when ordered by him through a soldier to do so: I stated that, some five centuries back, a certain Gessler had placed a cap on a pole, and, in trying to make one William Tell bow to it, he had revolutionised Switzerland.—To this the Governor replied, that I was not acquainted with Portuguese law. I said, very likely not; but that I knew what common justice was. I then bowed, and retired. When I had descended half way down the steps, the Governor, calling me by name, asked me if I came to demand Mr. Summers's liberation as a right, or to ask it as a favour. I replied that, while I believed Mr. Summers had neglected to take off his hat, as was customary, on the passing of one of the religious ceremonies of the country, I had asked his liberation as a personal favour; but, since His Excellency had explained that Mr. Summers was confined for what I conceived to be no crime at all, I really could not, in the position I then occupied, ask for his liberation as a favour.

After this unexpected termination to our interview, we retired to the residence of my friend Mr. Patrick Stewart, situated within a few doors of the Government House, to consider with Captain Troubridge what steps should next be taken.

Here was a British subject, whose arrest had been in the first instance illegal, still unjustifiably detained after a respectful remonstrance on my part,—I being, in the absence of any British Consul or other civil authority, the proper representative of the British Government. I felt it my duty to demand in writing the immediate release of Mr. Summers : considering, however, the warm temperament of Señor do Amaral, and the bearing towards me which he had already assumed, I could scarcely augur for the more formal application that success which had been denied to my friendly intercession. I thought it advisable, therefore, to make the necessary arrangements in anticipation of denial. Owing to the shoalness of the water, no ship of any size could anchor within three miles of the landing-place. The boats of the squadron were preparing to pull at the regatta. I sent a gig off to the First Lieutenant of the *Mæander*, with an order to him to make the signal, "Prepare to land boats for service." Captain Staveley in the meantime undertook to make himself acquainted, without exciting suspicion, with the position and state of the prison, the route to it, and how it was guarded, &c. To effect this he assumed a white jacket, the usual costume of the mercantile gentlemen ; and, taking with

him a basket of fruit, he walked up and obtained an interview with the prisoner, returning with the information we required. I then wrote the following letter, which Captain Troubridge took to the Governor :—

"H.B.M. SHIP MEANDER, MACAO Roads,

"8th January, 1849.

"Sir,

"As I understand, from the personal interview I have just had with your Excellency, in the presence of Captain Troubridge, of H.B.M.S. *Amazon*, and Captain Staveley, Military Secretary to the General commanding the troops at Hong Kong, that Mr. Summers, a British subject and resident of Hong Kong, has been put in the common jail by your Excellency's order, for not taking off his hat, in obedience to your order conveyed by a soldier, on the occasion of the Host passing; and your Excellency having entirely separated the supposed offence from any religious aspect, by distinctly stating that he was committed to jail for not obeying your order to take his hat off, I deem it my duty, as senior naval officer of H.B.M. ships in China, to demand his immediate release, and a full explanation of the circumstances which led to his imprisonment, for the information of H.B.M. Government.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your Excellency's most Obedient Servant,

"HENRY KEPPEL."

Captain Troubridge found the Governor where we

had left him, and stated that he was requested to wait for an answer to this letter. The Governor absented himself for a while, and then returned with the following reply :—

“ MOST ILLUSTRIOS SIR,

“ In reply to the letter which you have just addressed me from on board H.B.M.S. *Maeander*, anchored in Macao Roads, I transmit to you herewith the enclosed copy of an official letter, which accompanied Mr. Summers when he was sent by me to-day to the judge, to whom, according to the Portuguese laws, appertains the further prosecution of that affair.

“ God preserve you.

“ (Signed), JOAO MARIA FERREIRA DO AMARAL.

“ THE MOST ILLUSTRIOS SENOR HENRY KEPPEL,

“ COMMANDING H.B.M. SQUADRON IN CHINA.

“ MACAO, June 8th, 1849.”

The purport of the enclosure was as follows :—

“ MOST ILLUSTRIOS AND EXCELLENT SIR,

“ To-day, on the passing of the procession of Corpo de Deos, J. Summers, Protestant Missionary, remained near the church of Misericordia with his hat on his head, amid a number of people who all showed respect for the religion of the country ; and I having ordered one of my attendants to tell him to take off his hat,—he would not. In consequence of this, I sent him to the

guard-house, and now send him to your Excellency, in order that your Excellency may condescend to settle this doubly scandalous case according to justice.

“God guard your Excellency.

“JOAO MARIA FERREIRA DO AMARAL.

“To THE MOST ILLUSTRIOS SENIOR CONSELHEIRO JOAQUIM
ANTONIO DE MORAES CARNEIRO,

“JUIZ DE DIREITO OF THIS CITY.

“MACAO, June 8th, 1849.”

To dance attendance beyond this point on Portuguese justice at Macao seemed to me unworthy of my position, and hopeless as to the object. The judge would have referred me back to the Governor, whose tool he was, and with whom alone I could properly hold official intercourse ; in the meantime Mr. Summers must lie in prison, awaiting the “course of law,” which, let me add, has within these last ten years left British subjects to die incarcerated in this very prison. I decided on liberating him at once.

To do so with the least possible risk of any disastrous incident was now the great object ; and I adopted the mode of proceeding which seemed the most promising for this end. A second boat being despatched to the *Mæander*, with directions that the signal should be made for the “Boats to land immediately,” I went on board the *Canton* steamer, which was moored off the town, and took my place as umpire at the regatta, which was about to commence. We started the sailing vessels—and

shortly after, observing some of the boats on their way to the shore in obedience to my signal. I excused myself for a few minutes, and again landed.

The first boat which arrived was the *Mæander's* barge, with a crew of twelve blue-jackets and six Marines ; and, the other boats being some way behind, I asked Captain Staveley, who was with me, whether he thought he could by a *coup-de-main* release Mr. Summers with that one boat's crew ? To this he gallantly replied that he had no objection to try—stipulating only, like a good general, that I should secure his retreat. Upon this I requested Mr. Burnaby, who had charge of the barge's crew, to attend to his wishes.

Passing quickly through a house which had a back entrance to the Senate Square, and so to the street in which the prison stood, Captain Staveley, with his party, immediately proceeded thither.

The cutter from the *Mæander* arriving next, I directed its crew to take charge of the house through which Captain Staveley had passed, placing sentries at each door.

The third boat had just arrived, when my attention was attracted towards Senate Square by the report of musketry. Leaving orders with the officer in charge of the landing place to pay *every attention* to His Excellency, should he land before my return (which was not improbable, since he must have seen all that was going on from on board the *Plymouth*), I was hastening to the scene of action, when I met Captain Staveley walking

down, arm in arm with Mr. Summers,—the rear brought up by the barge's crew. I immediately sent to stop the disembarkation of any more men. The whole business, from the landing of the barge's crew until their return to the boat with Mr. Summers, did not occupy five minutes of time. The arms from the launch and barge were transferred to the pinnace : and the boats, with the exception of those which were to pull for the prizes, were ordered back to their respective ships. I returned to the *Canton* steamer, and had the pleasure of seeing the two best prizes won by the launch and barge of the *Meander*. I learned from Captain Staveley that his party had to cross the square, to get to the street in which the prison was situated. On the left side of the square was the entrance to the arsenal, near which was a battery of four field-pieces, with a guard. When abreast of this battery, Captain Staveley directed Mr. Burnaby, with the blue-jackets, to possess themselves of the guns and remain there until his return, he proceeding with the Marines to the prison. The sentry at the prison presented his musket at Captain Staveley : upon which the corporal of Marines wounded the sentry in the arm, causing him to drop his musket ; this proved to be superfluous, as the musket was found not to be loaded. The jailer dropping his bunch of keys, and the guard having vanished, the liberation of Mr. Summers was the work of a few seconds.

I am sorry, however, to add that this object was not

effected without one serious casualty, which, although it could not alter the view I had taken of my duty, much increased both my own regret at the perverseness of the Governor, and the general excitement consequent upon the event. A Portuguese soldier was killed by a musket-shot. It was said by his own people that he was unarmed, and not in any way opposed to our rescuing force. It may have been so ; it is not possible to reconcile the conflicting accounts even of this short affair. Captain Staveley, however, whose account I believe, states that some shots were exchanged between our men and the Portuguese, the latter firing into the square from the windows of a house : in this way they probably slew their own comrade ; but the point is not worth discussing, as it can neither lessen nor increase my own responsibility. I am convinced that the course I pursued can be perfectly justified in the eyes of every one with whom might does not constitute right, which law seemed to be the only one recognised by the Governor of Macao. It may be observed, that there is no class of public servants on whom great responsibilities are more suddenly imposed, than on the officer commanding a man-of-war ; and he cannot, with any security for his public duty, allow himself to consult those personal impulses, which, as they vary with every temperament, would produce inconsistencies in every sea. He must be guided, where special orders have not defined his course, by that which may best maintain

the honour of his Sovereign, and of the flag which she entrusts to him: and of this flag the greatest honour is that, into whatever port it floats, there it becomes the refuge of the humblest individual who, born to a share of British liberty, has not forfeited it by a positive breach of any law to which he and his nation owe respect. From what had transpired at my last interview with Señor Amaral, it must be evident that he deliberately disconnected the point at issue from any religious question whatever. Nothing could be more studiously arbitrary than the shape in which the Governor was pleased to put it to me;—and this in the presence of the representative of France: nor could I divest myself of the suspicion that, if *he* had not been present, the Governor's bravado would have been wanting also. As it was, however, he first forces upon me the conviction that the liberation of Mr. Summers is a *right*, which I could *demand*, repudiating in his offence that element which had already enabled me to ask the "favour" of his pardon; and then he says, "Unless you ask it as a favour you shall not have it. I care as little as you do for the religious point; but if *I* order any man to take off his hat, he shall do it, or go to prison—*Exactly so.*" I should like to see the British officer who would assent to Señor Amaral's "*exactly so.*" I should like to see him make his bow at the Admiralty, with the consciousness that, not long before his return, he, being Captain of a British frigate,—repre-

sentative on that spot of Her Britannic Majesty, had succumbed to the dictatorship of a Governor of Macao, and could give no further account of the Englishman who had claimed his protection, than that when the *Mæander* sailed, as when she arrived, he was "in prison for not taking off his hat!"

The perverse bearing of Señor Amaral, on my personal application to him, is the more remarkable, and is aggravated by the fact that he *had*, in his note to the judge, charged Mr. Summers, "a Protestant Missionary," with the "*double* scandal," of disrespect to the procession, and to himself. With *me*, therefore, he chose, at the expense of candour, to sink the *religious* point, that he might exalt himself.

I have hinted to the general reader how much he may *skip*. Now, therefore, as the case presents points of professional as well as of personal interest, I will proceed to state particularly the considerations which were duly—though, as the case was urgent,—promptly weighed by me, before I determined to settle with Señor Amaral after his own summary fashion.

As the senior naval officer then at Macao, I had three distinct questions to determine, *viz* :—

I.—Has this British subject contravened any law of the country in which he is imprisoned, so as to forfeit the protection of his own country's flag?

II.—Who is the proper person to intercede for him, if he has, or to see justice done to him, if he has not?

III.—In what way should this be done?

1. The first question is decided in a few words.

The Governor of Macao, on his own statement of the case, tempted, as it seemed to me, to shew off before the representative of France—claimed for himself an autocratical importance, which, had its victim been a Frenchman, would have been as promptly repudiated by M. le Baron de Forth Rouen, as it was by myself. My address on entering ought to have satisfied his vanity; for I then told him that I had come to ask a favour; and he ought the rather to have yielded with a good grace at once, as knowing that he had no acknowledged power to extort from foreigners, of other religions, any *act* of observance towards his own. He might have felt also that a “Protestant Missionary,” had a claim to some forbearance at his hands. The course pursued by him, disregarding even the formalities which his own laws prescribed—not to mention the special provisions of our treaties with Portugal—could only be considered as lawless and arbitrary: Mr. Summers, then, the subject of it, *was* entitled to the earliest practicable redress.

2. With whom did it rest to vindicate his cause? Certainly, with the senior officer on the spot. At Lisbon it might have been a job for the ambassador: at Macao it devolved on me, as Her Britannic Majesty’s representative then and there. It was not a case which could with any propriety be referred to the civil authorities at Hong Kong. First, because I had no right, nor any

desire to impose on Mr. Bonham, even could he have performed it, the responsibility of my own disagreeable duty; and secondly, because he could not have performed it: he could only have resorted to tardy diplomatic correspondence at a distance of forty miles, and then, in case of failure, back to myself or to the military power at Hong Kong.

In the meantime the utmost conceivable punishment for the "double scandal," would have been already undergone by Mr. Summers. There exists a note written by a predecessor of Señor Amaral, which he would probably have made his model in replying to any communication on this subject from Hong Kong.

On the occasion to which this note refers, the Consular Agent for the United States expressed his "regret at the arrest and imprisonment of two American citizens by order of his Excellency, the then Governor of Macao:" their offence seems to have been of the nature of Mr. Summers's. In reply, his Excellency the Governor Palha winds up a severe note by saying that it is "by an excess of moderation, but only for this time, that he has not determined instantly that Mr. Fisher should quit the city, for having the audacity to pretend that the Governor should account to him for the rules of his conduct." This peculiar style of the Governors of Macao does not encourage a reference to civil authorities when injustice is patent—when delay aggravates it—and when a man-of-war is at hand.

3. *How* then was I to liberate Mr. Summers? Here was no doubt an opportunity to emulate the Governor's bravado, and to make a grand display; but the mode which should involve the least possible risk of bloodshed, was that suggested by duty and humanity.

Señor Amaral's absence at the regatta offered an excellent opportunity, and it was used as I have narrated. I am well satisfied to have taken advantage of that accident. Had the Governor been on the spot, his high spirit would doubtless have urged him to an opposition which, though hopeless, might have multiplied subjects for regret.

I have passed over one argument which was much relied on at the time by the party who took the anti-Amaral side; for the affair, of course, created a great sensation, and each side of the question had its advocates. I was charged, on the one side, with having "violated a territory belonging to the Crown of Portugal." To this it was answered, that Macao does not belong to Portugal;—whence, it would follow, that Portuguese *law* can have no footing there.

It may certainly be shown that on many occasions the Portuguese have either been constrained, or have found it convenient, to admit that they have only a qualified property in this corner of China; but I have not yet claimed the benefit of *this* argument; because, I professed only to give the grounds on which I acted at the time; because, I might not then have had at my

fingers' ends the colonial history of Macao ; and because, two simpler points were clear to me :— first, that the outrage was indefensible under *any* law ; secondly, that, whether the prison stood on Portuguese or on Chinese territory, the prisoner was my countryman, and entitled to my help. At the same time, I do not forego an argument which I have every right to advance, and which is supported by authorities of the highest order. I have not had time to ask the formal permission of Sir Henry Pottinger, late Plenipotentiary in China, and now Governor of Madras, to make this use of a note which I received from him last year ; but I have no apprehension that he will object to my subjoining the following passage :—

“ My opinion always has been, and will be, that you acted quite right in rescuing a British subject from the Portuguese at Macao. *They have no sort of rights of sovereignty there* ; and I told the Governor, in my day, that if any of Her Majesty’s subjects took refuge or were detained there, I would make him deliver them up. Lord Aberdeen approved of my decision ; and my friend Keying issued an edict declaring Macao to be on the footing of the five ports opened to trade. *That I think is conclusive.*”

I have assumed, as I hope I may, that my own statement of the minuter facts of this case will be received as the correct one. Some of the published accounts, —gathered, perhaps, with every desire for accuracy, yet from unauthentic or prejudiced sources,—are just

sufficiently erroneous to affect materially the merits of the case.

For example, the excited Governor, on the day following this event, invited all foreign officials, then at Macao, to attend the funeral of a soldier "assassinated by order of Captain Keppel." Poor man! he has since met his own fate from some real assassins. He was as brave an officer as could adorn any service, and I grieve for his unworthy end. In my slight collision with him I have no doubt whatever that, according to the view he took of *his* position,

"What he did, he did in honour,
Led by th' impartial conduct of his soul."

an apology made and accepted by greater men than either of us. I, in turn, will apply to my share of the transaction other words of the same speaker*—

"Your highness pleased to forget my place,
The majesty and power of law and justice,
The image of the Queen whom I presented;
Whereon
I gave bold way to *my* authority."

And I cannot but feel perfectly at ease under the opinions both of the eminent personages already named, and of others equally so, whose correctness of judgment on questions of public delicacy, founded not only on the general experience of official life, but on particular knowledge of local circumstances, and appreciation of national character, is further guaranteed by their actual career in

* Chief Justice Gaseigne.

the public service, and by the success with which they have themselves maintained our national honour.

In seeking to conclude usefully an egotistical chapter, I would venture to remind my British fellow subjects, who may find themselves where other laws and other creeds prevail, that the duty of private individuals is often different from that which is officially incumbent upon us, who bear about our Sovereign's flag. Let them never by indiscretion invite a difficulty, from which they must afterwards invite their country's help to rescue them. Let them remember that customs and religions are *reciprocally* strange; and that, if *they* are allowed in a foreign land to practise unmolested their own observances, it is by virtue of that same forbearance, which they are doubly bound to exercise in turn. No ignorance was ever dispelled, no creed ever purified by the contemptuous sneer of a "conscientious" foreigner. I have the greatest respect for the devoted missionary; but with reference to such scruples as I suppose to have actuated Mr. Summers, I humbly think that, when his conscience forbade him to bow himself in the house of Rimmon, it might have whispered that principle would be satisfied, and contention avoided by his quietly taking his walk another way. While the military or naval officer, following his severe path of duty, may be pure from the blood of all men, self-acquittal may not be so easy to him, who, having gone forth to spread the Gospel of peace, calls into action his fellow-subjects militant, for

his own personal defence, by an unnecessary parade of the letter, rather than the spirit of Christianity. Whatever may become *our* bounden duty, when a case has actually arisen, let the missionary assure himself that, even if *laurels* could be gained in such collisions, we desire to reap none through his inconsistent or ill-timed frowardness: that while we rejoice, as fellow-members of the household of faith, to co-operate with him in every land, we accept it not as a pleasure, nor willingly as a duty, unless it tends to the magnifying of his *office* rather than of *himself*.

I have alluded to the tragical end of Señor Amaral, which took place not very long after this event. I subjoin the particulars, which have now painful interest.

The position of Macao is on the small peninsula which projects from the large islands of Hsiangshan, and is about eight miles in circumference. The narrow isthmus, connecting Macao with the remainder of the island, is more than a mile in length, and a barrier wall runs across its narrowest part. Along this isthmus the Governor used to ride almost every day.

On the evening of the 22nd August, 1849, he was taking his usual ride. He had passed through the barrier gate, and, having given a quarter-dollar to an infirm old China woman, a pensioner on his bounty, was quietly proceeding homewards in conversation with his aide-de-camp, when he encountered a party of Chinamen, about three hundred yards from the barrier gate, coming

leisurely along the road. Among them was a young man, who held in his hand a bamboo of that sort used by coolies for carrying goods. Attached to the end of it was a bunch of green bushes and flowers, which, on meeting the Governor, he thrust into his face. The Governor turned on his assailant, exclaiming, "you dog," when a dash was made at him by six other Chinamen, which caused his horse to shy to the left, where the ground was broken by an acclivity of two or three feet, which the pony cleared.

It is probable that, as soon as he could pull up on clear ground, his first and fatal impulse was to face his pursuers. He took the bridle in his teeth, raising his only arm (the left) to take a pistol from the holsters, when they rushed upon him with drawn swords, the foremost of them cutting at his arm, by disabling which he would be at their mercy. He kept his seat for some time, although he had lost a stirrup and was but an indifferent horseman. The aide-de-camp observed him fall at length, after he himself had been brought to the ground. Having got the Governor down, the murderers cut off his hand and head,—apparently by repeated strokes from their blunt swords. The lower jaw and part of the tongue remained attached to the trunk. The wounds in the body were not mortal. The murderers escaped through the barrier, taking with them the head and hand of their victim; and, having "chin-chinned Joss" in an adjoining house, embarked in a boat they had in waiting.

The Hong Kong papers state that two gentlemen on horseback witnessed the attack from a short distance, but, being unarmed, they could render no assistance!

Lieutenant J. P. Leite, the aide-de-camp, stated that, when the Governor's horse shied from the six Chinamen, he made an attempt to go to his assistance; on which three of them turned upon him, and cut him down from his horse: he still held the rein; but on attempting to get up he received a second cut on the head, and the pony escaped. When he was on the ground he observed the Governor falling off, but did not hear a sound from him: he saw the Chinese gathering round and hacking at the body. He then got upon his feet, and ran forward, pursued for several paces by two of the murderers.

There were various surmises as to the motive for this foul deed; and most people were inclined to believe that it had been instigated by the Chinese Government.

That a murder so cunningly devised, and so boldly executed, was not the act of common robbers is evident from the fact, that the murderers did not plunder their victim: a watch and other valuables were left on the body of the unfortunate Governor. That it was a political murder is proved by the fact, that the head and hand were taken away, to serve for evidence that the hired assassins had performed their horrid office, for which no doubt they were promised a large reward.

It is pretty certain that twenty-four hours after the murder the ghastly proofs of it were in possession of the

Canton patriots, and probably gloated over by Commissioner Seu himself.

It is not for me to animadver on the probable cause of the Celestial Government taking this truly Chinese mode of ridding themselves of a troublesome neighbour. His Excellency had lately acted upon his liberal, free-trade feeling, in ridding Macao of the Chinese Hoppo, or Custom House, which had existed since the Portuguese first rented Macao. He had also, for the purpose of improving the drive on which the European residents took their exercise, cut a pretty road through an extensive burial-ground, thereby disturbing the remains of many hundred Celestials,—a point on which they entertain very strong prejudices.

The excitement in Macao was great. The troops were not to be restrained : they insisted on changing a too peaceably inclined commander, by whom they were kept in check, for a Captain Ricardo, an energetic officer, in whom they had confidence. They sallied forth—a force of 120 men—and captured, in gallant style, a fort situated near the barrier. The storming party, of thirty-five men, was headed by a Lieutenant Mesqueda. The Portuguese had seven wounded ; the Chinese seventy-four killed. The houses around the fort were fired, and no fewer than forty guns spiked. In a spirit of hasty and unjustifiable retaliation, however, they tarnished these laurels by bringing away the head and left hand of the mandarin who had charge of the fort : these they stuck on a pole in

front of the house where the remains of the Governor were lying. Poor Amaral would have been as much disgusted by this substitution as were the Portuguese authorities themselves, who immediately removed these trophies.

All remonstrances, as well as threats, on the part of Portugal have hitherto been unavailing for recovery, from the Chinese Government, of the lost head and hand. Many substitutes have, I believe, been offered.

On 27th May, 1850, the new Governor, Commodore Pedro Alexandrino de Cunha, arrived at Macao, in the *Don John*, of twenty-two guns, and the *Doña Maria II.*, frigate, of thirty-two guns, also arrived from Goa, with a Company of Artillery ; and with this extra force it was supposed His Excellency would bring the China authorities to a sense of what was due to Portugal. Most unfortunately, however, the *Doña Maria* while lying in the Typa anchorage, on the 29th September following, blew up with a terrific explosion, by which 188 lives were lost. The cause of this accident remains a mystery. The ship had been dressed out in honour of the birthday of the Prince Consort of Portugal. Out of 224 on the ship's books, only thirty-six were alive at the subsequent muster. The Captain and most of the officers perished.

The "Boletein do Governo" concludes its accounts of these melancholy events with :—"Would to God that this be the last of the no small series of calamities that has afflicted this establishment!"

CHAPTER VII.

DEPARTURE FOR MANILLA—ITS BAY, RIVER, CITY, VILLAGES, AND MANUFACTURES—HOSPITALITY—TRIP TO THE LAKES—CAVITA—REGAL STATE OF THE GOVERNOR—PERILS OF A PATENT OF NOBILITY—DEPARTURE FROM MANILLA—SHIP AGROUND—ARRIVAL AT LABUAN—TAKE IN COAL—NEWS OF PIRATE FLEET HAVING PUT TO SEA—DEPARTURE FOR THE COAST OF BORNEO.

WE left the scene of our "untoward event" early on the following morning; and on the 21st anchored in Manilla Bay. Respecting either the bay or the city it would be difficult to write anything new. The bay is twenty-five miles in circumference, and receives many rivers. The city, happily situated at the mouth of the Pasig, is the capital of the Spanish settlement in the Phillipine Islands. The Pasig is navigable as far as the lakes, of which there is a succession, the nearest being about three leagues eastward of the town. On their borders may be seen upwards of a hundred picturesque Indian villages, chiefly built of bamboo. The prevalence of earthquakes has prevented the erection of lofty buildings; nevertheless, the city has an opulent and substantial appearance from the anchorage, to which, however,

the numerous churches and monasteries contribute largely.

Its extensive manufacture of cheroots is well known. In one building alone are employed some 14,000 women, all talking at the same time, but kept in tolerable order by female overseers of austere aspect. There are also manufactories for the beautifully-embroidered piña cloth, made from the fibres of the pine-apple leaf. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the kind and hearty welcome with which a man-of-war is invariably received at Manilla, especially by the mercantile community,—our transatlantic brethren vying with our own countrymen in hospitality. Our arrival seemed to be made an excuse for a little relaxation from the duties of the counting-house; and, during the eight days that the ship remained in the bay, there was a succession of pic-nics, dinners, and balls. Excusing myself from accepting the kind invitation of Mr. Farren, the Consul, I returned to the old quarters where I had been so kindly received, while in the *Dido*, by my friend Mr. F. Richardson, of the firm of Paterson and Co.

One party visited the lakes, which they had heard described in such glowing terms, and they appeared particularly to enjoy themselves.

The canoes afford a most luxurious mode of travelling. They are paddled along by natives, who ply at either end, the passenger occupying the centre: he may at his pleasure turn into a comfortable bed, sheltered from the rain or sun by a mat-covering, which is supported on

bamboos, arched over from side to side. There is room also for a portmanteau and gun-case. Two or more people may be accommodated in this way. The kind friend, who had given our party a letter of introduction to a gentleman residing on the borders of the lakes, likewise took care to see that they should have a well-supplied commissariat.

The following account of the excursion is taken from the notes of one of the party:—

“ We took canoe, and paddled up the river, on either side of which the country-houses and gardens of the inhabitants extended for miles.

“ It was dark when we reached the entrance to the lakes ; and our boatmen took it easy during the night : but at daylight, when we rubbed our eyes and looked around us, the change seemed magical. Instead of the narrow and very muddy river on which we were paddling when we went to sleep, we found ourselves on the bosom of a magnificent lake measuring several miles across, and in water which, although fresh, was deep and blue in appearance. The hills, or rather mountains, came sloping down from the clouds to the water’s edge ; we could see the fish rising in all directions. As we passed by headlands, or emerged from groups of islands, fresh expanses of the lakes opened before us, all of the same beautiful character. It was in fact one large lake, though in many places nearly separated into several different basins, by narrow

passes and numerous islets. We went on wondering and admiring, until we reached our friend's residence in the vicinity of a large and flourishing village. To our great disappointment he was absent from home, having gone on a visit to the Pueblo of San Francisco, a provincial town about ten miles off at the extremity of the lake. We managed to make his "Major Domo" understand our wants; whereupon he unlocked the doors, kicked out the dogs, and made us comfortable with a hot breakfast. After this he provided us with a guide to the summit of a hill in the vicinity, commanding an extensive view. On our way thither we passed through the village, which is approached by pleasant lanes, sheltered from the sun by hedges of bamboo, the ends of which, gracefully inclining inwards, formed an arch overhead. The houses were clean and well-built, with white walls and neatly-thatched roofs: the streets are built at right angles; and there is, after the common fashion of Spanish towns, a plaza, or square, in the centre.

"The inhabitants, who are of a mixed breed between the Spanish and Indians, appeared entirely agricultural in their pursuits and resources: they send their produce by canoes to Manilla.

"The low-land, between the village and the hills at the back, was drained and highly cultivated. The corn fields were generally fringed with groves of cocoa-nut trees, affording a very pleasant and necessary retreat from the noonday sun.

"It was intensely hot, and the hill ascent very laborious ; but the view from the summit was worth the trouble. Looking in the direction where we imagined we had entered the waters, we were at fault ; for the labyrinth of lakes seemed interminable—basin after basin of blue water appearing one above the other. Some of the distant land lay high ; it sloped gradually to the water's edge, and seemed to be capable of any degree of cultivation.

"In an opposite direction the lake-view was not equally extensive, but bounded by higher mountains, at the foot of which, in a plain beyond, communicating by rivers with the lake, stands the town of San Francisco. The view on this side was more lively, the monotony of the lake being relieved by the white sails of the numerous canoes passing to and fro. The low-land immediately beneath our feet, bordering the lake, was teeming with herds of cattle. Altogether the scene was indescribably beautiful.

"It seemed strange to us that agriculture was so partially pursued on the shores of these lakes, where the soil was so rich, where easy means of irrigation are at command, and where the water-communication from all parts with Manilla is so open and easy. The explanation given was that all communication, whether by land or water, is insecure ; liable to the attacks of banditti,—these are composed partly of deserters from the army, and partly of native Indians, a race still untamed and unimpressible, as to the advantages of quiet commerce.

"We found that villages, much nearer Manilla than those now in our view, were nightly kept on the *qui-vive* by this source of alarm. It is strange that this should be a true complaint so near the capital of the Phillipine Islands, colonised by the Spaniards upwards of three centuries ago—but so it was.

"Returning to the village in the afternoon, and not being able to learn anything definite about the probability of our friend's return, we gave up the hope of shooting and rejoined our canoes with some regret, imagining that, much as we had seen, we might possibly have missed some of the beauties of these lakes through want of a competent cicerone.

"We had also heard of the existence of a volcano in this neighbourhood, said to be sometimes in activity—but we did not see it. Fairly embarked again in our canoes, we slept off our disappointment, and awoke the next morning in Manilla."

The white buildings of the naval arsenal at Cavita, situated in the bay nine miles to the southward of Manilla, may be seen from the anchorage. This town, commanding respect by its antiquity, was founded by Don Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, the first Captain-General, about 1564. It still contains the remains of one of that interesting class of vessels, the Spanish galleon—the last of its order,—now rotting in the basin.

I had the honour of being entertained by His Excellency, General Don Antonio Maria Blanco, Field-Marshal,

Commanding-in-Chief,—doing the duties of the Captain-General, who was absent on a tour in search of health. I was much struck by the more than regal state and etiquette observed by the Don. The dinner was excellent. Aides-de-camp, in handsome scarlet uniform, stood at each end of the table and carved: they entered into conversation, and made themselves very agreeable, but never attempted to eat, nor even to sit down except during the changing of the courses; and then only at a distance from the festive board.

The Captain-General, Don Marciso Clavería, had lately been made a Grandee of Spain, under the title of Conde de Manilla, for his services in putting down a horde of pirates at Balagnini. The patent of nobility had been sent out by the Overland Mail; and the officer in charge, who was conveying it from the mail-steamer at Hong Kong to the Spanish Chargé-d'affaires at Macao, happened to be in one of the vessels that was attacked by the Chinese pirates, some of whom were afterwards hanged at Hong Kong. This officer was murdered, and his portmanteau, containing the Letters Patent beautifully illuminated in gold, was retaken in the junk that was captured by the boats of the *Inflexible*, and had thus just reached the hands of the Condessa. I found her rejoicing over its contents when I called to pay my respects.

We sailed from Manilla on the 2nd July. Passing round the north end and down the coast of Luban, we

ran between that coast and the Cabras Islands ; and on the 6th, after passing between Mindoro and the Appo shoal, we steered to the southward for the passage to the eastward of Palawan. In working down we experienced very fine weather, but light and variable winds : the coast was free from dangers, and in that respect far preferable to the western side.

On the 13th, we landed on East Island, while the ship ran between it and the coast. On the 16th, made the Peak of Balabac.

The following morning, at five o'clock, just as we had set the studding-sails to a freshening breeze, the ship running fast, she took the ground at the top of high-water, on a coral bank not laid down, and close to which we had worked the ship before without noticing the appearance of any danger. Having plenty of head-way, she shot twice her length before she stopped. The tide beginning to fall, we had only time to get the sails furled and top-gallant masts on deck, before she began to heel over, which she continued to do until she had attained 38 deg. from the upright position. If a ship is to be got off, it is generally by the same road by which she got on. The weather was fine and the water smooth ; so that we had nothing for it but to "turn to" with a will.

Having laid a bower-anchor out astern, and hove the cable well taut, we sent the pinnace to Labuan for assistance, and lightened the ship by throwing the guns overboard, and lading the boats with shot and other





weighty materials. The next morning, at half-past seven, the ship floated. The only way that I know of, to enable a man—especially if he be the Captain—fully to appreciate the agreeable sensation that I experienced on feeling the ship once more alive, and moving back into deep water, is to let him first get *into a fix* similar to that from which the *Mæander* had just escaped. By breakfast-time the following morning we were running, with all sail set, for Balambangan ; and, if the rusty appearance of the muzzles of the guns had not told tales, no one who might have met us could have seen that anything had happened.

Before the pinnace had lost sight of the ship, the tide had fallen to its lowest ; and the huge hull appearing on the horizon had looked so perfectly helpless, and its position so unlike what they ever expected to see her in again, that the crew of the pinnace gave a desponding account of her on their arrival at Labuan.

The next day in Kimanis Bay we met the H.E.I.C. steam-frigate *Semiramis*, Commander Daniell, coming to our assistance. The crew manned the rigging, and congratulated us on our escape by three hearty cheers.

23rd.—Came to, off the Coal Point, Labuan. Coal had become so scarce at Singapore, that the Commander-in-Chief had sent to borrow some from the Dutch Government at Batavia. All the surface of the fine coal seam had been picked off by the person who had contracted, before the charter was granted to the E. Archipelago Company, to supply our steamers with coal : and that part

of the seam at which they were now working was some three hundred yards from the water's edge ; and, although labour was cheap and the contract price had been raised, they could with difficulty work out ten tons per day. By working in the cool of the morning and evening, we put on board in a few days 150 tons, filling the after-hold. We had just completed our dirty job, when the news reached us that the Sakarran and Serebas pirate fleet had put to sea, and that the *Albatross*, accompanied by Sir James Brooke and his native force, was out in search of them ; but I may as well state at once that the pirate fleet was even then destroyed, as we ascertained on reaching the Bornean coast.

While, however, our ship is on her way thither, I will endeavour to contribute towards the conviction of the unprejudiced a few of those stubborn facts, from which it may be decided whether the sufferers at the hands of Captain Farquhar and Sir James Brooke were "peaceful traders" or blood-thirsty and systematic pirates. There *will* always be some peculiarly constituted minds, fortified by a sort of moral gutta-percha, through which neither pre-conceived opinion can evaporate, nor a deluge, even, of new evidence effect an entrance. For such persons it were vain to write : they can but be recommended to *visit* the Eastern Archipelago. Let them cross the path of these peaceful traders. They will probably return better able than before to define a pirate, and to illustrate the uses of a kris.

Not discouraged, however, by a few impenetrables, I shall devote the next chapter to a brief account of the piratical communities of the Bornean seas: and to a notice of the proofs which have been accumulated that they *are* piratical communities. As an eyewitness, already honoured with credit, generally, so far as I have contributed my mite of testimony, I feel bound to add that which I have more recently collected.

The charitable determination of some well-meaning "philanthropists," to think no evil of the "poor Dyaks" unfortunately reduces to the category of murderers and liars certain of their fellow-countrymen, whom the same charity might suppose to be as well-meaning and as honourable as themselves, while reason must allow them to be better informed.

The publication of this volume having been unexpectedly delayed, in waiting for the map and illustrations, I now find many of my remarks, on the subject of piracy especially, anticipated by the author of an able and interesting article in the "Edinburgh Review," No. 195. Its perusal has made me hesitate to shew myself in the same path with a writer whom I can follow only at a distance: but, being one of the very witnesses whom he has honoured with notice, I have determined to let the whole work stand as if I had not seen the "Review," offering to the same able writer, or to others, on subjects which I hope will not be dropped, the results of my further actual experience and ocular observations.

CHAPTER VIII.

MALAYS AND DYAKS AS RESPECTS THEIR PIRATICAL CHARACTER—SEREBAS MALAYS—SEREBAS DYAKS—THE MALAY PRAHU—THE DYAK DANGKONG—SAKARRANS—REMARKS ON THEIR PIRATICAL PROPENSITIES, AND ON OUR FORMER OPERATIONS AGAINST THEM—PREPARATIONS OF THE SEREBAS PIRATES—PREPARATIONS OF THE RAJAH OF SARAWAK—PIRATE PRISONER BROUGHT IN—ATTACK ON BADONG BY THE SEREBAS PIRATES—A CHIEF DUNGONG—HIS FATE—REMARKS—THE RAJAH OF SARAWAK MALLIES FORTH WITH HIS FLEET—IS JOINED BY NATIVE ALLIES—DIS PROCEEDINGS—RETURN TO SARAWAK.

THE Serebas, like the inhabitants of the other rivers on the north-west coast of Borneo are divided into two distinct classes—the Malays and the Dyaks.

The origin of the present Malay race of Serebas is a question unsettled by ethnologists. They are not indigenous, as the Dyaks are. Once, however, established in their present locality, they would naturally fall under the dominion of the Sultan of Borneo. But it is recorded that, towards the end of the seventeenth century, they rejected his rule, and offered to become subjects of the Sultan of Johore, from whose country it has been supposed that they sprung, and whose power was then considerable.

The advantage to the Serebas from this transfer of their allegiance would be great. They would no longer pay tribute, from the proceeds of their depredations, to the Sultan of Borneo: while the Sultan of Johore, having an acknowledged claim, would find it a troublesome one to enforce. The Sultan of Borneo, however, has never given up his right of sovereignty over the Serebas country, though it is now only nominal.

In these political tactics, which secured to them a field for depredation without any one really to call them to account, we have early indications of a character which the Malays of Serebas have ever since sustained.

The piratical character of the *Malays in general* has never been disputed.

“It is in the Malay’s nature,” says an intelligent Dutch writer, “to rove on the seas in his prahu, as it is in that of the Arab to wander with his steed on the sands of the desert. It is as impossible to limit the adventurous life of a Malay to fishing and trading, as to retain an Arab in a village or in a habitation.”

The Malays of Serebas have never been an exception, in this respect, to those of the same race located on the various sea-coasts of the Eastern Archipelago: in fact they differ in *no* material point from the Malays of other places—all are equally addicted to piracy. This is not merely their habit; it may be termed their instinct. All are equally warlike, equally well armed. From their superiority in these respects, and in point of civilisation,

they are in the position of rulers and protectors to the *Dyaks*.

The *Malayan* community of Serebas, however, never exceeded 1500 fighting men ; and their depredations were, for some time, limited to the plunder of such vessels as they could overcome with that force at sea. The captured crews were on all occasions carried into slavery.

The *Dyaks* of the Serebas country comprise of themselves numerous communities, numbering several thousand warriors. While their warlike operations were confined to the intertribal feuds so common among savages, their weapons were the spear and the sword,—formidable enough in Dyak hands : they adopted, however, other arms, according as they became mixed up with the operations of the Malays, in the manner which I shall presently explain ; but they always were, and still are, a distinct people.

Such being the state of things in the Serebas country, the *Dyaks*, about eighty or even one hundred years ago, were gradually trained to piracy by the Malays, commencing their apprenticeship as pullers in the Malayan prahus, in which service they were rewarded with the heads of the slain (for which they had a peculiar taste), and they received also such captives as were useless to the Malays for slavery.

In the course of time these *Dyaks* became expert seamen ; they built a description of prahu, or bangkong, peculiarly suited to their stealthy and rapid movements :

and, together with the Malays, formed the fleets composed of one hundred or more prahus, which swept the seas, and devastated the shores of Borneo over a distance of 800 miles.

The Dyaks soon became aware of their own power; and, accordingly, both in their internal government and on their piratical expeditions, their chiefs in time attained equal authority with the Malayan rulers: the plunder also, whether of vessel or village, was equally divided between Malay and Dyak; but no male captive was willingly spared by them, owing to the propensity of the Dyaks for collecting heads. It will be remembered, from the earlier journals of the Rajah of Sarawak, that the present of a head is exacted from every aspirant to a Dyak bride,—this preliminary being “established from time immemorial, and indispensable.” So far as the Rajah’s influence extends, this barbarous custom is, with many others, fast disappearing. Some of the young Dyaks have plainly stated that they would give up head-hunting, were it not for the taunts and gibes of their wives and sweethearts, who threaten to put on them the bedung (petticoat) if they do not procure, and lay at their feet, these ghastly trophies of their bravery. They never attempt to disguise the fact, that they go forth in their expeditions excited by no injuries, seeking no revenge, but simply intent on plunder, and above all on heads.

Thus the character of piracy was altered, and rendered more bloody, by the infusion of this Dyak element. I

therefore wish my readers distinctly to keep in view, that the pirates who are the subjects of this chapter are *the Malays and Dyaks of Serebas*; that it was against *these Malays and Dyaks*, conjointly, that I had to act in the years 1843 and 1844, and against whom Captain Farquhar was engaged in 1849.

When I mention the Serebas as pirates, I include with these the Sakarran Dyaks. The Serebas inhabit the interior of the river of the same name, and the country near the sources of the Lipat, a branch of the Kaluka river. The Sakarrans live on the left-hand branch of the Batang Lumar, and on the Kanowit, the Kalibas, and other tributaries of the Rejang. All the tribes and their several divisions have inland communication with each other; and when a piratical balla is fitted out in one river, all who are disposed to join it cross overland to the place of rendezvous, and assist in manning the bangkongs. At other times the Malays of Serebas (about 1500 in number, armed with kelas and musketry,) compose the principal part of the fighting men in the Dyak bangkongs. The former was the case in March 1849—when Sadong was attacked by the pirates, and one hundred people slaughtered. The latter plan was in force when the Serebas were engaged by Captain Farquhar four months later; the heavy Malayan prahus had been left behind, to enable them to baffle an enemy whom they knew they were not unlikely to meet at sea: to each of these occasions I shall have to refer more particularly.

The Malayan inhabitants of Serebas are, as I have before stated, armed in the same manner as the Malays of other places. Their weapons are the kris (indispensable to *every* Malay), the spear, and whatever fire-arms they choose to obtain from the free market of Singapore.

A word now on the description of vessel in which they make their piratical cruises. These are of two kinds: the Malay *prahu*, and the Dyak *bangkong*. The war-prahu of the Malays of Serebas is in no respect inferior to that used by those most notorious pirates, the Lanuns and Balagnini. I have known one of these piratical prahus measure ninety feet in length, with a proportionate beam. The usual armament of such a vessel would be one gun—from a six to a twelve-pounder—in the bow; from four to six swivels, or *lelas*, on each broadside; besides about twenty or thirty rifles or muskets. Such boats would pull from sixty to eighty oars, in two tiers; and her complement of men would be from eighty to one hundred. Over the pullers, and extending the whole length of the vessel, is a light but strong flat roof, made of thin strips of bamboo, and covered with matting. This protects their ammunition and provisions from the rain, and serves as a platform on which they mount to fight, and from which they fire their muskets or hurl their spears with great precision. The rowers sit cross-legged on a shelf projecting outwards from the bends of the vessel. A vessel of this description, well known on the

coast, belonging to the Laksimana of Serebas, was destroyed by Captain Farquhar at Paku. Seriff Mullah's prahu, captured by the *Dido's* boats at Undop, was of the same formidable class : many others seen by our officers on their various expeditions were fully as formidable, or more so. Such is the class of vessel in common use with the Malays of Serebas for the purposes of piracy.

The Dyak bangkongs, drawing but a few inches water, are both lighter and faster than the prahus of the Malays, with a long overhanging stem and stern ; they measure a hundred feet in length, by nine or ten in beam. These bangkongs are usually propelled by from sixty to eighty paddles ; they are as swift as an eight-oared London wherry, and can be turned at full speed in their own length. Each bangkong, besides its regular complement of Dyaks, carries a few Malays armed with musketry, and they occasionally mount one or two small lelas. They are equally efficient for pursuit and for flight ; and their stealthy and noiseless approach gives no warning to their victims, who have been too often surprised, and overwhelmed with a shower of spears in the dead of the night.

I have here given a description of a Malayan *prahu* and a Dyak *bangkong* of Serebas, of the *first-class*. The vessels are essentially different, in all respects ; there are of course, belonging to each description, numerous vessels of smaller size and armament ; the complement, whether in the one or the other, may be very moderately com-

puted at an average of thirty-five men. On some occasions, and according to the nature of the service on which they are engaged, the heavily armed Malayan prahus, and the swift and destructive Dyak bangkongs, form one fleet or *balla*.

It was in 1843, when I first visited Sarawak, that I made every necessary inquiry, to convince myself of the real character of these communities before acting against them. I collected such a mass of testimony from numerous persons of various nations—from Malays, Dyaks, and Chinese—from the Rajah Muda Hassim—from the Datus of Sarawak—from respectable men of many other rivers—and from my own countrymen, as left no doubt whatever of the extensive and systematic depredation carried on by these pirates. I became assured that a large amount of human life was annually sacrificed; that the coast was devastated, and the trade destroyed by these marauders; and therefore I did not hesitate to act against them on my own responsibility—I considered it a duty incumbent upon me to do so. The result fully confirmed my expectations,—the piratical ravages of the Serebas were checked; and their discomfiture, even for a season, conferred the greatest benefit upon the peaceful inhabitants of the coast. It was to me a fair subject of regret to have been ordered to China from this sphere of usefulness.

I had the satisfaction of finding what was done at this time entirely approved of by the British Government—

and it may be added, by the British public, declaring itself by its acknowledged organ, the influential portion of the press,—nor was any voice then raised on the side of what I must consider mistaken and short-sighted humanity, allying itself with the pirate against the peaceful trader. My successors on the station, arriving there equally unprejudiced, but resorting in like manner to the evidence of their senses, adopted the same views as myself; nor am I aware that a doubt on this subject was entertained, either in England or abroad, during the three following years.

In 1849 I was again appointed, as Captain of the *Mæander*, to carry out the suppression of piracy on that same coast of Borneo, and against this very people, the Serebas. Arriving on the station, I instituted fresh inquiries into the recent acts of piracy committed by them; and I should with ample reason have again adopted the severest measures, had I not been once more ordered to China. Captain Farquhar, who succeeded me, met and defeated these pirates in the manner which I shall presently describe; and then arose an outcry in England, the secret springs of which I will abstain from conjecturing, or rather from directly pointing to.

It assumed a shape which sufficiently indicated its source,—that of unscrupulous calumny, aimed principally at one individual whom I am proud to call my friend; one with whom I first made acquaintance

at the ends of the earth, occupying a position unprecedented for an European as a friend of the human race.

“ Men, that make
Envy and crooked malice nourishment,
Dare bite the best.”

“ Men’s minds will feed either upon their own good or upon others’ evil; and who wanteth the one, will prey upon the other: and whoso is out of hope to attain to another’s virtue, will seek to come at even hand by depressing another’s fortune.” Whatever be the motives of Sir James Brooke’s detractors, they have not succeeded in their aims. Even while their

“ gall coins slanders like a mint,
To match him in comparisons with dirt,
OPINION crowns him with imperial voice ! ”

And I feel assured, that every shaft they shall hurl with the same unworthy aim will, like the boomerang thrown by a clumsy hand, revert upon their own heads: I despair of its touching any more hopeful part.

The subject of piracy has during the last three years given rise to repeated discussions in Parliament; but these have assumed the tone not so much of enlightened debate as to the best means of suppressing it, as of fierce attacks on all that has been done for this end, and on the characters of those employed,—on their humanity, their disinterestedness, their veracity. As one of the officers implicated with the “Anglo-Malayan Rajah” in

such serious charges, I cannot refrain, although well satisfied with our honourable defenders in both Houses, from using this opportunity to take my own part, and that of my friends and co-operators in a work which, I again say, cannot be left incomplete without increasing peril to the best interests of humanity. As the gravest charges advanced against us all had their origin and foundation in the severe chastisement of a piratical fleet by Captain Farquhar, I will in due order advert to the acts of these particular pirates, the Malays and Dyaks of Serebas and Sakarran, immediately before their chastisement; then to the action itself, and to the movements subsequently made in following up the blow. I will next notice as fairly as I can the charges against all concerned which arose out of these proceedings—the Parliamentary organ of our accusers being the honourable member for Montrose. Lastly, I will endeavour to give as full and complete an answer to all objectors, as facts and experience may supply.

I have already stated that the Rajah of Sarawak, on his return thither from England, in September 1848, discovered that an intrigue was on foot, of which the object was to re-establish a nucleus of piracy at Songi, the former residence of a notorious pirate, Sheriff Sahibe, on a branch of the Sadong river. To nip in the bud this mischief, which had germinated during his absence in England, the Rajah sent up immediately a sufficient force to make an imposing demonstration, and took such

further measures as removed all ground for apprehension in that quarter. The *Mæander's* boats accompanied those of Sarawak on this occasion.

In the Serebas country, also, active preparations had been for some time going on to fit for sea a formidable piratical balla ; but the unexpected arrival on the coast of so powerful a ship as the *Mæander*, and the news, which soon spread to the Serebas, that her boats had already visited the Sadong, operated for the time as a check upon their active measures. No sooner, however, did the departure of the *Mæander* leave the Bornean coast without a man-of-war,—the steamer of the station being employed in keeping up communication between Labuan and Singapore,—than the Serebas pirates resumed those preparations for fresh atrocities, in which they spend all the time not actually taken up in executing evil deeds already planned. The absence from Sarawak of the Rajah himself during the four following months facilitated and encouraged their proceedings. It will be remembered that, after a very brief sojourn at Sarawak, on his return from England, he had gone on in the *Mæander* to Labuan (his new seat of Government under the British Crown). There we left him, while we made another trip to Singapore : returning, we took him on a cruise of health, during which too he made official visits, particularly to the Sultan of Soloo ; after this we brought him back to Labuan, and left him there ; and again visiting Singapore, we found awaiting us orders to proceed to China. Calling

at Sarāwak on our way, at the end of February, we found that the Rajah had already returned thither from Labuan in the *Royalist*, and had found it necessary to take immediate measures against the Serebas and Sakarran pirates, whose audacity had run riot during his absence at Labuan. The energy of the Rajah of Sarāwak would urge him at any time to make head against a great evil, even single-handed ; but it is quite certain that, so long as piracy flourishes as at present, he must always be left with formidable odds against him, when he has not the assistance of a British man-of-war. The insolence of the pirates had by this time so increased, that they had sent the Rajah a message of defiance, daring him to come out against them, taunting him with cowardice, and comparing him to a woman. This tone of security in the Serebas was certainly rather to be lamented than wondered at : they had lately with impunity captured several trading boats, devastated two rivers, burned three villages, and slaughtered at least four hundred persons,—men, women, and children. “Why does the navy sleep?” asks a published letter of this date, from Sarāwak ;—“Where is Captain Keppel ?” That is to say, they were casting a longing look after the last British frigate,—which, like Paul Pry, “just dropping in, and hoping she didn’t intrude,” had left them to the unequal contest.

On the 27th February, a fine young man was brought into Sarāwak as a prisoner, having been picked up by a boat at sea. He was a Serebas pirate, and had

belonged to a squadron which had destroyed one of the villages in the Delta of the Rejang. He had gone to a short distance inland, on a little excursion of his own, to procure a few heads for his private gratification ; and, on his return to the river's side, he found that the balla to which he belonged had sailed away. Unwilling to trust himself to the mercies of the people whom he and his countrymen had so ill used, he placed himself on a floating nipah palm-tree, and pushed into the stream, hoping that the flood-tide might carry him up the river. The ebb, however, which ran the strongest, conveyed him out to sea ; and there he was found, and brought in for judgment. After a short detention, he was dismissed with a suitable, but useless caution to his chiefs.

That the caution was useless will sufficiently appear from the fact that, on the 1st March, a formidable force of Serebas pirates, comprising between sixty and one hundred prahus, dashed up the Sadong river, headed by a notorious chief, the Laksimana of Paku, and attacked in detail the detached farm-houses which are situated on the river for some miles below the town of Gadong. The town itself they did not attempt, knowing it to be strong and well prepared for defence.

They had selected for their purpose the time of harvest, when the men were widely scattered, and the unfortunate women and children were left unprotected. The farm-houses attacked in this state generally fall an easy prey.

The strong tides which set up these rivers materially assist the invading party to take their victims by surprise. They reached the devoted river soon after the dawn of day. The mode of proceeding is as follows:—The foremost bangkong of the balla stops abreast of the first farm-house to which they come; the crew rush on shore, and the heads of the sleeping and unsuspecting inmates are in a few minutes secured. The rest of the fleet push on; and regularly, as they move up the river, the leading boats stop by twos and threes, at each successive farm-house, and enact their respective tragedies.

Upwards of one hundred heads were taken in this expedition by these murderous villains. Of all those whose farms were attacked, one man only, Abong Sadik, happening to be well prepared,—his firearms ready, and his powder dry,—made a successful defence. His people had just commenced work, when the enemy swept up the reach. Twenty-seven of his men got back to the house in time. Pulling up the ladders—the Malay houses, as is well known, being built on piles—they shot down the first three pirates that landed; on which the remainder, abandoning for the present their hope of beheading that particular establishment, moved on to see if the inmates were as wide awake next door.

A few select ruffians of this fleet lingered behind after the main body had quitted the river, having dressed themselves in the spoils of their victims, and put on

the broad-brimmed hat used by the labourers on the farms. Thus disguised, these miscreants stealthily dropped down the river in the small canoes which they found on the banks ; and, imitating the Sadong dialect, they called to the women to come out of their hiding-places, saying that they had come to convey them to a place of safety. In many instances the stratagem was but too successful ; and the helpless women, rushing down with their infants in their arms, became the prey of these wolves in sheep's clothing.

There is something of rude romance in the following incident. There was in the balla a chief named Dung-dong—a ferocious old ruffian as any there. He was a Malay by birth, but had given up the customs and religion of his people, adopted the Dyak costume, and become a notorious head-hunter. While his crew were plundering a farm-house, he was captivated by the appearance of a young girl who was endeavouring to make her escape into the jungle : he pursued her ; but, being encumbered by a heavy iron-headed spear, he stuck it into the ground, purposing to pick it up on his return. The path to the jungle was through a padi field, of which the crop was then ripe and long, fit for reaping. The pirate speedily overtook his victim, and returned, bearing the poor shrieking girl in his arms, to the point where he had left his spear : but it was gone. He hurried on with his prize towards the boat ; but fell almost immediately, pierced through the neck by his own

spear, hurled from the hand of his intended victim's father.

I have here given an *imperfect outline* of the deeds done by the Serebas and Sakarran pirates during one ordinary expedition up one river, the Sadong. I assure the reader that imagination could scarcely fill up this outline with characteristics answering to the reality. I have not mentioned those *most* revolting circumstances, which, though they may vary in their details, are common to all these occasions. What manner of people, then, are these Malays and Dyaks, who occupy their business in the waters of Serebas and Sakarran ? What is their business—if not piracy ? I will not now anticipate conclusions upon which many more facts shall yet be brought to bear ; but it may be remarked at once —first, that it is a great mistake to designate these proceedings as “inter-tribal feuds.” The Malays and Dyaks of Serebas do not busy themselves with feuds, as such : but they will get up a feud (if any one insists on calling it so) wherever heads and pillage are to be had. But, secondly, a mere change of expression could not exonerate us from the duty of repressing such excesses. A nation which, to its honour, will not tolerate an African slave-trade, with *its* concomitant horrors, can scarcely plead the principle of non-intervention when the scene of equal horrors lies in her direct commercial path.

At length, in the hope of arresting the continual further sacrifice of life and property, by which these

outrages in the Sadong, and others in various directions, were sure to be followed up unless some preventive measures were taken, the Rajah sallied forth, on the 25th March, 1849, with the native flotilla, which he had, at a considerable expense, prepared for service. The force, on setting out, consisted of fifty-five prahus, with a total of 1800 men : this was augmented, in the course of a few days, by auxiliaries from various rivers on the coast, anxious to make common cause against a common pest, until the flotilla amounted to ninety-eight prahus, with about 3200 men. Of these, twenty-four prahus were of Sarawak, manned by 800 Sarawak Malays. This portion was entirely equipped and victualled at the expence of the Rajah. It may be observed, that the average number of men in the Sarawak prahus is something lower than in those of the Serebas and Sakarran pirates : the prahus of the latter, though of less tonnage, are of greater size, from overhanging so much at stem and stern. The largest Sarawak prahu is of about ten tons.

The expedition visited every river between Sarawak and Serebas, but had not the good fortune to fall in with the enemy. It was led by four boats of the H.E.I.C. steamer *Nemesis*, under the orders of Mr. Goodwin ; while Captain Wallage, with his steamer, guarded the Serebas river. A map of this part of the north-west coast of Borneo is necessary to any reader for whom these movements have particular interest. The expedition, entering the Kaluka, ascended at once both the right and left

branches of the Lipat and Sussang. The Malays of Lipat, having been found trading with the pirates, received a severe lecture, and were then compelled to furnish guides to the interior of the Rembas branch of the Serebas. About sixty miles from the sea, up the Lipat, a force of 2000 men landed, and, during an absence from the boats of three days, captured several strong-holds of the pirates, destroying large stores of rice and salt. They met with but little resistance ; for, in fact, the enemy were absent about other mischief.

The flotilla now returning towards Serebas, a small advanced boat encountered forty piratical prahus at the entrance of the Rembas. "Smelling a rat," they retreated precipitately, leaving behind many articles very acceptable to the force ; which now, having effected towards the chastisement of the pirates as much as was practicable without a stronger accession of European aid, left the river Serebas, and dispersed to their respective homes. Ten boats, however, from Sadong, being set upon in the night while at anchor by 150 Sakarran prahus, who were on their way to unite with the Serebas fleet in an attempt to surprise the town of Banting, had a severe engagement with them. The odds against them were diminished by the opportune assistance of thirty-five prahus of the Balow Dyaks, who hurried to the scene : by their assistance the Sakarrans were defeated and driven back upon their own river, with loss of four large prahus. But a more important result of this action, together with the

previous movements, was that the union of the Serebas and Sakarran fleets was thus prevented, with all the murder and devastation which their combined forces would have committed. The vessels used by the pirates on this expedition were, strictly speaking, not Malay prahus, but Dyak bangkongs. According to the work they have in hand, they go forth in the heavier or the lighter craft.

Although frustrated in their immediate designs by the movements of the Sarawak force, it was not likely that the pirate fleets of Serebas and Sakarran, mustering nearly 200 prahus in full equipment, would long suffer their preparations to be wasted by inactivity. A friend, who learned Latin longer than myself, recommends me to announce to the classical world the discovery of the real Hydra of old times, in a pirate fleet: and, after going deep into Lempriere, I think there have been worse hits. I will conclude the chapter learnedly in working it out; having a start given me thus:—

"Non Hydra, secto corpore, firmior
Vinci dolentem crevit in Heretalem."

So grew the Hydra's sever'd stumps,
And gave great Hercules the dumps.

No single unfollowed-up blow seems to hurt a set of pirates, any more than a many-headed mythological monster; and even Hercules despaired of success, single-handed. He was fain to appoint an aide-de-camp to *burn the stumps*, as he cut off the heads. How then is

my friend the Rajah to do it alone ? *He* must have help—utterly to destroy the beast. If Sarawak lops off the heads, England must burn the stumps—or *vice versa*. They must work together. But I have got up my classical parallel a little further. While the hero of old was performing his task, by the help of his friend with the hot poker, *jealousy* sent a *crab* to bite his toes ! Even so is there more than one treacherous, subaqueous tormentor at work, nibbling, but not hurting my friend the Rajah. Biting his foot—interfering with his free movements in some slight degree. But it matters little, while the head remained unimpaired to devise, and the arm to act. Dropping my lesson in Lempriere, I will confidently predict that the Rajah of Sarawak *will* succeed in *his* Herculean task ; for he keeps his promises, and he has said with Cæsar—

“I must rid the sea of pirates.”

The next shall be a matter-of-fact chapter, narrating the strongest effort yet made to destroy the Hydra of Serebas.

CHAPTER IX.

ALBATROSS SAILS FROM HONG KONG FOR BORNEO—SIR JAMES BROOKE PROCEEDS ON A MISSION TO SOLOO—HIS RETURN TO SARAWAK—ALBATROSS ARRIVES THERE—PREPARATIONS FOR AGAIN ENCOUNTERING THE SEREBAS PIRATES—EUROPEAN FORCE—NATIVE FORCE—EXPEDITION LEAVES SARAWAK AND ARRIVES OFF THE BATANG LUPAR—ROYALIST SENT TO GUARD THE LINGA—INTELLIGENCE RECEIVED, THAT THE PIRATE BALLA HAD PASSED OUT TO SEA—PROCEEDINGS OF THE PIRATES—EXPEDITION TAKES UP A POSITION OFF THE SEREBAS—RETURN OF THE PIRATE FLEET—ITS DESTRUCTION—FURTHER PARTICULARS—PROCEEDINGS OF ANOTHER PORTION OF THE PIRATE BALLA—THEY VISIT THE MARstabus—CAPTURE AND DEATH OF HUSSEIN.

ON my arrival in China, the Admiral, Sir Francis Collier, determined that it would be desirable to have some ship-of-war despatched to the coast of Borneo, to supply the *Mæander's* place. Accordingly H.M.S. *Albatross*, Commander Farquhar, sailed for that station on the 18th April. She arrived there on the 18th May.

In the meantime the Rajah had not been idle. After his return from the last mentioned excursion against the pirates, which had the effect of *checking* considerably their devastations, he took advantage of the quiet interval to proceed to Soloo, where he succeeded in forming a treaty with the Sultan, of which the object was to keep

open for the benefit of the mercantile world that improvable field for commercial enterprise. I have noticed in a preceding chapter how this hope has been frustrated by the jealousy of Spain.

On his way back from Soloo, Sir James Brooke touched at Labuan and arranged sundry matters there, reaching Sarawak again about the end of May, 1849. From this time he was actively engaged in preparations for encountering the Serebas and Sakarran pirates ; and at length, on the 24th July, he had the satisfaction of leaving Sarawak with such a combined European and Native force, as was certain to give a good account of any fleet of the marauders that might be met with.

The *Mæander* had been expected to arrive in time to share the work cut out ; but as she did not appear, it was determined to proceed with the available strength collected ; and there could have been no misgiving about success in the breast of any one who witnessed the enthusiasm of the parting moment, and heard the cheers with which the picturesque banks of the Sarawak river echoed as the flotilla got under weigh.

The following comprised the European portion of the force :—

H.M.S. *Royalist*, commanded by Lieutenant Everest.

H.E.I.C. steamer, *Nemesis*, Commander J. Wallage.

Three boats of the H.M.S. *Albatross*, viz. :—Gig, Commander Farquhar, in command. Pinnace, Lieutenant Brickwell. Cutter, Lieutenant Wilmshurst.

The boats of the *Nemesis*, viz. : — Two paddle-box, and a cutter, commanded respectively by Mr. Williams, Mr. Goodwin, and Mr. Alex. Baker.

The *Royalist's* cutter, Lieutenant Everest.

The *Mæander's* small steam-tender, *Ranee*, Mr. E. W. Baker, engineer in charge.

The Rajah of Sarawak embarked in his new prahu called the *Singh Rajah* (Lion King), and was accompanied by the following force of prahus, manned by Sarawak Malays. It will be seen that for names to their prahus the Malays, having no classical dictionary, draw upon the jungle and other dictionaries of *Nature* with success.

MALAY NAMES.	ENGLISH NAMES.	NUMBER OF MEN.
Singh Rajah	Lion King	70
Rajah Wali	Eagle	60
Hariman	Tiger	45
Ular	Snake	30
Nuri	A Species of Parrot	35
Pinyu	Turtle	40
Peniangat	A small Species of Bee	35
Kijung	Deer	35
Buaya	Alligator	50
Ani Ani	White Ant	20
Katak	Frog	25
Agam	Chicken	35
Merapati	Pigeon	30
Tupei	Squirrel	25
Alang-laut	Sea Kite	40
Bujang-brani	Brave Bachelor	25
Layang Layang	Swallow	20
Tipit	Sparrow	20

These were afterwards joined by the Orang Kaya of Lundu, with about 300 men in prahus of different sizes.

Later still came the Linga Dyaks, about 800 strong. Smaller detachments likewise joined from Samarahan, Sadong, and other tributary rivers, whose inhabitants had all alike suffered from the depredations of the Serebas pirates. The total native force amounted to about seventy fighting prahus, manned by about 2500 men.

Early on the morning of the 24th July, the *Nemesis* started with H.M. brig *Royalist*, and the *Rance* steam-tender in tow, the *Albatross* being left at Sarawak. The European boats followed, and this division of the force anchored on the night of the 24th off the Marotabus entrance to the Sarawak river. The native boats dropped down with the ebb-tide, and presented an animated appearance,—streamers flying from their three slender masts, and gongs beating. The Rajah's prahu brought up the rear.

On the morning of the 25th, the *Nemesis* took in tow the European force, and, standing out sufficiently to avoid the shoals, brought them to the entrance of the Batang Lupar at 5 P.M. The boats were anchored in line across its mouth ; and the *Nemesis*, proceeding up the river with the *Royalist*, left her off the Linga branch ; after which, she returned to the boats, and proceeded with them, early on the morning of the 26th, towards the Serebas, off which she anchored at 3 P.M., to await the arrival of the native force.

The next page is from the journal of a gentleman who was in the Rajah's prahu.

" 26th July.—The whole mosquito squadron are under sail along shore, and afford an interesting sight, their white sails standing out distinct from the dark, jungled shore. Anchored at night just within the mouth of the Sibuyow. The natives were soon variously at work; some with their parangs waded up the muddy bank to the nepah, the leaves of which they cut for roofing, and the pith for food. Others threw their jallah, or round fine nets, over the shallow places, to secure a fish meal; and some others more successfully fished with a seine. All was peaceful and safe, although we were disposed along the banks of a river where some few years ago piratical expeditions were of daily occurrence, and this destructive state of things continued until the dwellings all disappeared, and the inhabitants fled.

" Towards sunset a remarkable circumstance occurred:—vultures apparently, but in reality huge bats (*pteropus*), began to fly over where we sat at dinner, *al fresco*, and continued to do so for nearly half an hour, some soaring very high, and others at less distances. Shortly after the last bird had passed, or even before, they began to return exactly the opposite way, and so disappeared. Not having a *Calchas* in our fleet, we could only determine, as many wise people do, *after* the events of the next few days, whether the omen was a lucky one.

" In the evening we amused ourselves with drawing up a code of signals, in a council of four. When written,

it was sent, accompanied by a formal circular, to all the prahus having European commanders.

" 28th.—*Nemesis* is in sight ; and the European force anchored some way out amongst the flats of the Serebas. Captain Farquhar came on board this evening ; and a boom, or council of war, attended by the chiefs, was held on the deck of the *Singh Rajah*."

On the evening of the 28th, intelligence was received that a large pirate fleet, or balla, had left the Serebas early on the morning of the 26th, and had stood to the northward. They had thus just slipped out a few hours before the arrival of our force. The informant had only escaped them by breaking up his boat, and hiding himself in the jungle, where he saw them all go past. It was believed that the capture and plunder of the town of Siriki, on the Rejang, was their immediate object. To intercept their return was the determination immediately formed by Captain Farquhar and the Rajah ; and measures were promptly taken for this end. Sir James Brooke, with part of the Sarawak force—about twelve large well-armed prahus, and two man-of-war cutters, made for the Kaluka, a river more to the north-east, but having an inland communication with the Serebas. They took up a position across its mouth, concealed from the outside by a bend at its entrance.

The intervening space between the river Serebas and the Kaluka is a sandy flat, called Tanjong Marrow, projecting seaward between two and three miles. Outside

the southernmost point of this flat, called Buting Marrow, the *Nemesis* anchored in the middle of the stream ; the other men-of-war's boats, and forty native prahus, under the Datu Tumangong of Sarawak, extending from her, in an oblique line, towards the entrance of the Serebas, the European boats being nearest to the *Nemesis*. Twelve or fifteen prahus took their position on the opposite side of the river, under the Orang Kaya of Lundu : and a few were detached here and there.

The habit of these pirates, when attacked, is to provide for an escape to the jungle, rather than stand out to sea. The arrangements now made were as complete as was practicable for cutting off their homeward flight ; at least an immense sacrifice of their force was thus insured.

Fast-pulling scout-boats were kept on the look-out in the offing, with orders to convey by signal the earliest intimation of the pirates' approach.

The whole force remained in suspense during the three following days. I will use this interim to state what the pirates were about : for be it known to all who deny on their behalf their character and deeds, that they themselves are very candid about the matter ; and every particular might be learned from some of the chiefs, who afterwards visited Sarawak to make their submission to the Rajah.

Their fleet consisted of 150 prahus ; in every prahu were muskets, and some carried brass guns, besides the usual armament of spears and swords, &c. Very few of

the prahus carried less than thirty men, while some had as many as seventy. The great chiefs, and almost all the principal Malays of Serebas and Sakarran, were in the fleet, which was collected from Rembas, Paku, Padi, Liar, &c.—all places in the Serebas River. Nearly all the adult people were there, either from choice or compulsion.

The piratical fleet, on leaving the Serebas, proceeded to the entrance of the Niabur River, and from thence to the Palo. They made an attempt on the town of Siriki, but found the inhabitants too well prepared for them. On the town of Palo they levied a large contribution of rice and salt, and thence proceeded to the bay of Lassa, capturing on the way a trading prahu laden with sago, which they plundered. From the Bay of Lassa they proceeded to attack the town of Mato, near which place they captured two other trading vessels, one laden with sago, *bound for Sincapore*; the other *lately arrived from Sincapore*, with a cargo of cotton goods. These vessels were unfortunately lying outside the defences: they were accordingly first plundered and then burnt.

N.B. Sincapore has, nevertheless, produced an address to Mr. Hume (which will be hereafter examined), expressive of doubts whether the Serebas are pirates!

Repulsed from Mato, and hearing that there was a force on the look-out for them, the pirates turned homewards: and at length, towards evening on the 31st July, the *Ular* scout-boat brought in the intelligence, so welcome

after three days of watching, that the piratical balla was rapidly approaching the Kaluka in two divisions.

Several parties from the boats were amusing themselves on shore ; but an intimation of what was coming soon brought back those within hail. Three, however, who had landed from the Rajah's prahu, to shoot wild hog, deer, or curlew, returned not with the rest ; nor were they missed in the first moments of excitement on the appearance of the enemy. Suddenly, however, their absence was perceived, and the imminent peril to which they were now exposed flashed across their comrades' minds. Should the pirates, taking early alarm, seek an escape in that direction, they were sure to fall in with them. It seemed to their friends almost impossible for a boat to reach them before some of the enemy would have effected a landing ; and *then*, if they had been found at all, they would inevitably have been headless. The Rajah was suffering under an attack of fever and ague ; and this suspense,—painful enough to all on board,—was doubly so to him, as one of the missing party was his nephew, Captain Brooke. A boat, however, which was immediately despatched, happily returned with the stragglers, to the great relief of all on board. They had been led on too far for prudence by the fresh tracks of game.

At the first announcement of the enemy's approach a rocket was sent up to warn the *Nemesis*. The pirate fleet was now advancing rapidly, with a strong flood-tide, for the entrance of the river Kaluka, across which the

Rajah's division was stationed. He instantly formed into a more compact line ; and the enemy, after approaching near enough to see that passage guarded, steered for the Serebas entrance, passing at long gun-shot distance.

The two cutters stationed in the Kaluka, under command of Lieutenants Everest and Wilmshurst, then advanced in chase, leaving the Rajah still to occupy his position, which was too important to be unguarded. He was consequently in ignorance of what took place from this time, and passed the night in exciting, though confident suspense. The signal, which he knew so well to be the summons to a council,—namely, the sound of three successive strokes on the gong,—fell upon his ear ; then ensued an impressive stillness for about twenty minutes. Suddenly the splash of paddles was heard, and, with a fearful war-yell, the pirates were again in excited and rapid motion.

The decision taken by them was to force the Serebas entrance. Here Captain Farquhar was in readiness ; and to his movements we now return.

After the boom, or council, held on board the *Singh Rajah*, Captain Farquhar, leaving the *Rajah* to guard the Kaluka, proceeded on board the steamer, to make his further arrangements. Scout-boats conveyed to him also the intelligence of the approach of the balla in two divisions. In less than half an hour the signal-rocket announced that they were passing the Kaluka, and their movements could be distinctly traced from on board the

Nemesis by the splashing sound of their paddles, while their fleet was yet enveloped in darkness.

As the pirate fleet sighted the steamer, they first became aware of the extreme peril of their situation ; and at this moment both Captain Farquhar and the Rajah, although eight miles apart, heard with equal distinctness the council summoned by beat of gong ; and then, after the pause,—rendered more solemn by the complete darkness which had come on,—the same yell of defiance reached both divisions.

A rambling exchange of shots now commenced ; this, accompanied by the discharge of musketry, increased as the opposite parties closed. The pirates were hemmed in on every side.

The entrance of the Serebas, by which they hoped to escape, was found to be guarded by the Datu Tumangong and his son Abong Pata, with a detachment of forty prahus. The pirates now came into immediate contact with the men-of-war boats ; a continued discharge of musketry was kept up, but they were too much panic-stricken, and bent on escape, to use their arms with any effect, and were soon thrown into the greatest confusion. Eighty of their bangkongs were speedily run on shore, while the rest, in detached parties, sought to escape by sea. Seventeen of the larger prahus, avoiding the shoal, attempted to pass the steamer, and were there destroyed.

A series of encounters followed, extending from the mouth of the Kaluka to the further side of the Serebas.

On this occasion, the loss of life was almost exclusively on one side. The darkness was greatly in favour of the English force. The pirates could not see the danger into which they were running.

The excitement caused by the reports of firearms—by the bright flashes from the guns—by the blue lights burnt by the man-of-war boats to distinguish friend from foe—the glare of the rockets, while passing through the air—and the yells of defiance from both sides,—was increased by the obscurity, and by the extended nature of the operations; for the combatants were spread, at one time, over a space of not less than ten miles.

The result of the night's action became visible with the morning light. On the eastern point, or Buting Marrow, lay upwards of sixty deserted prahus; and on the beach, for a long distance, were strewed the *débris* of the large pirate fleet. Boats which had been swamped were carried backwards and forwards by the tide. About 2500 of the enemy sought refuge in the jungle.

Upwards of eighty prahus and bangkongs were captured; many from sixty to eighty feet long, with nine or ten beam.

It is difficult to calculate the exact number of the killed. Four hundred must have fallen during the night's action; and many, dying afterwards from wounds and exposure, would swell the loss of the pirates. Five hundred is the number certified by the Judge of the Court of Admiralty; and the result of the best information which has been

procurable would fix the total loss of pirates at eight hundred : but perfect accuracy on this point is impossible.

The next morning was occupied in destroying the captured prahus.

Orders were given to shew mercy to any of the pirates who wished to give themselves up ; but mercy is not understood by these people, either in name or in reality : and, indeed, the few wounds which were received by any of our men were the penalty of their humane endeavours to save the pirates from drowning. These latter, when they took to the water, invariably did so in full fighting costume,—sword in one hand and shield in the other,—rendering any effort of humanity most perilous. They are indeed a desperate race, and utterly reckless either of their enemies' life or their own : nor do they spare age or sex. Even in their confused and precipitate retreat, on this night, they found time to perpetrate great atrocities. The mangled and headless trunk of a woman was found among their deserted plunder. She was ascertained to be a captive from Palo. When unable to carry her off, these "inoffensive traders" had severed her head, and vented their disappointment by the mutilation of the body.

I have before stated that the chiefs of these tribes do not attempt to deny their evil deeds. On a subsequent visit, made by some of them to the Rajah at Sarawak, one of note, whose name was Lingire, told him that his bangkong was one of the largest in the balla, with a crew of seventy men, and that he was advancing with the rest

of them ;—the panic, however, when they found the entrances to the Serebas and Kaluka guarded, was complete : everybody lost his senses, and each boat thought only of reaching home : in the confusion he took a line of his own, and, by various manœuvres, succeeded in threading his way through the belligerents unscathed. Turning the head of his boat seaward, he was at one moment very near running into the centre of the man-of-war boats, where Captain Farquhar was in his gig. He then turned towards the steamer, and, cheering his men, exhorted them to pull for their lives and on no account to jump overboard. He succeeded in passing in shore of the *Nemesis* ; and then taking a sweep out to sea, to avoid the Sarawak force under the Tumangong, as well as a detachment of Lundu Dyaks, under Mr. Steel of Sarawak, he effected an entrance in rear of everything to the Serebas ; and, his men pulling as they had never pulled before, he succeeded in taking the first account of the disasters sustained by his companions to their anxious families.

It was determined, in a consultation held on the morning of the 1st August, to follow up immediately the heavy blow thus inflicted on piracy, and to show those who had escaped that punishment could reach them even in their distant homes. But before attending Captain Farquhar and the Rajah up the rivers, I ought to mention the simultaneous piratical performances of another portion of this very balla. They act so as not

to have all their eggs in one nest. Descending the Serebas as part of the great balla, six prahus detached themselves when clear of the river, and stood to the westward. They first paid their unwelcome visit off Sambas, where they robbed and murdered a few unfortunate Chinese fishermen. Off the island of Serhassan they captured a trading prahu. Returning thence, they suddenly appeared before the village at the Marotabus entrance of the Sarawak—only twenty miles from the Rajah's capital. They gave as a reason for their visit, that "some time had elapsed since they had taken any Sarawak heads ; they were now, therefore, come to help themselves." Accordingly, they landed a force and attacked the village. It was obstinately defended, and the pirates were ultimately repulsed, but with loss of life on both sides. They then took possession of a small trading prahu bound to Kaluka, putting the owner and five men to death. A poor Kling, who was supercargo, tried hard to escape on shore by swimming ; but, before he reached the landing-place, he received a spear-wound, as well as a fearful sword-cut ; he still managed to crawl under the house, and, climbing a post, got in through the lantie floor : there tottering to a corner, he rolled himself up in a mat, and died. The only man who escaped was a Malay, named Lahat, who jumped overboard after seeing his father and two uncles massacred.

After this last exploit the same piratical detachment continued their course eastward : chased a few fishermen,

who escaped ; and then standing out to sea, fell in with a worthy Malay, named Hussein, nephew to the Datu Tumangong of Sarawak. I had, during my former visits to Sarawak, many a day's sport with him in the jungle. He was proceeding in a sanpan with six men, to trade at Sadong, and had with him 300 dollars in cash. On being chased by the swift pirate bangkongs, he defended himself bravely, but was run down ; and this poor fellow was put to death, with all his crew. The whole affair was plainly seen from the shore.

Three months after this transaction, when the pirates appeared at Sarawak to make their submission, some of *them* gave the following account of it. They said that, after leaving the Marotabus, they gave chase to the sanpan in which Hussein was. As they approached, he commenced firing with his rifle, and shot three of their men : as they came on him, he rose up and hurled his spear at one of the chiefs, inflicting a severe wound on the cheek. Before he could offer any further resistance, his boat was run down, and all were killed. In confirmation of their account, they actually produced poor Hussein's head, his spear, and gold-handled parang. At the request of his relations, they gave up the head.

CHAPTER X.

EXPEDITION ASCENDS THE SEREBAS RIVER AND THE PAKU BRANCH—ACCIDENT TO THE RASSEE—TWO SONS AND NEPHEW OF THE ORANG KAYA OF LUNDU KILLED—HIS GRIEF AND DEPARTURE WITH HIS TRIBE—PAKU DESTROYED—SEREBAS JACK—EXPEDITION PROCEEDS UP THE REJANG—CUSTOMS OF THE MILLANOWS—SIKIRI—KANOWIT RIVER—COUNTRY OF THE SAKARAN PIRATES—ITS FERTILITY—NATIVE FORCE FROM MATO—YOUTHFUL DYAK PRISONER—HIS LIBERATION—EXPEDITION DESCENDS THE REJANG—NATIVE AUXILIARIES DISMISSED—RAJAH GIVES AN AUDIENCE TO SOME PIRATE CHIEFS—NEMESIS PROCEEDS UP THE REJANG TO THE COUNTRY OF THE KANOWITS—MAN OVERBOARD SAVED BY A MALAY—PROOFS OF PIRACY—FINES INFILCTED AND ENFORCED—HOW AFTERWARDS DISPOSED OF—EXPEDITION RETURNS TO SARAWAK.

To resume our narrative of Captain Farquhar's operations.

After a couple of days spent in securing prisoners and destroying such of the captured boats as were not required for use, the expedition advanced on the 2nd August up the Serebas river, and in the afternoon the force anchored near the entrance of the Paku branch.

The next day, the *Nemesis* and the heaviest prahus being left behind, the lighter boats and captured bangkongs were in requisition to ascend the river.

The surviving pirates had thus the satisfaction of providing their chasisers with the means of visiting them at their own homes, and of easing them of some of their ill-gotten wealth, carrying it away in the same bangkongs which had been equipped for their own lawless purposes.

In this ascent of the river, the small steamer *Ranee*, attended by the man-of-war boats, led the way. Then followed a dense mass of several hundred native boats, eager for plunder—they were with the greatest difficulty kept back; a rushing tide swept them all up together. In the midst of the confusion, the branch of a tree carried away the *Ranee's* funnel. Grounding forward at the same time, she was swept by the current across the narrow river. The steam was let off with the usual noise; whereupon our native followers, not knowing what the horrid creature was going to do, tried in vain to get out of the way,—some jumping into the water,—some into other boats, which they accordingly swamped,—some religiously bowing their heads, and resigning themselves to Allah,—all under a sense of imminent peril; indeed, the confusion can be better conceived than described.

As the invading force advanced up the river, they found the usual means resorted to, to check their progress to Paku: trees were felled, and thrown across the stream; and it was frequently necessary to land parties on either bank, who could ascend and cut a boat passage through these barriers.

In one place, nine huge trees had been felled, and one

so immense as effectually to arrest further progress. For the purpose of clearing away these obstacles, a party of Dyaks landed, headed by three sons of the chief of Landu ; out of a foolish contempt for their enemies, they took neither fighting jacket nor shield. Advancing carelessly in disregard of repeated cautions, they penetrated too far into the jungle, and while drawing some ranjows from the ground, they were pounced upon by a number of the enemy, who were lying in ambush ; before succour could be obtained, two were cut down, and the head of one of them was taken.

I should explain that a ranjow is a spike made from the hard part of the bamboo, and cunningly stuck into the ground to wound the feet. It is a most formidable contrivance in a country where no shoes are worn ; but on a former occasion I saw a ranjow pass clean through the *shoe* of Sir James Brooke, who the moment before had cautioned me to beware of the same danger.

The unfortunate sufferers on the present occasion were both sons of the Orang Kaya of Landu. This fine old chief had always been a favourite with the Europeans, from his unbounded gratitude and attachment to the Rajah ; and much sympathy was shown at his distress. Although aged, he was still handsome. He had many an interesting tale to tell of his youthful adventures. When Mr. Brooke first visited Sarawak in 1840, this chief was suffering by the same wretched system of government, which had oppressed many others

within reach of Muda Hassim's sway—and most of his tribe had been dispersed. As soon as Mr. Brooke became powerful, he extended his protection to Lundu ; by an advance of money, the village was rebuilt—many of the missing tribe collected—and the old man's happiness and content increased exceedingly. He was justly proud of his sons, and particularly partial to Tujong, the youngest ; he had on the present occasion brought three of them with him, and a son-in-law, to join in chastising those enemies who had been the cause of his many troubles. Alas ! the Serebas had now possessed themselves of the head of one brave boy, and had slain another.

It was ascertained afterwards that the three brothers were advancing through the jungle in the usual single file, the second leading, when a tiger-like spring from the bush was made on poor Bunsie, and he was cut down. His slayer was the redoubtable Dyak Chief, Lingire himself, near to whose residence the flotilla were advancing. A fierce and desperate struggle ensued between the youngest son and a Malay, named Abong Apong : he was son-in-law to the Laksimana of Paku, the chief who led the late recent severe foray at Sadong. Each combatant was armed with shield and sword : but, assistance coming to his enemy, Tujong received the fatal blow ; before, however, the fallen man could be decapitated, a musket-shot fired by Tujong's party passed through the shield, and entered the body of the man

who had come to Abong Apong's assistance, making him likewise bite the dust.

Kalong, the eldest of the three, who was in rear of his brothers, saw the danger just in time to fall back, and bring up the assistance which saved his youngest brother's head, but not his life.

Kalong had also had his share of fighting. On the night of the late action, the moon was shining brightly, and he had chased one of the Serebas bangkongs aground. A young pirate chief jumped out, and invited any one of his pursuers to single combat. The challenge was immediately accepted by Kalong: wading on shore, he was soon engaged in mortal strife with his enemy, whom he shortly slew. The younger brother, Tujong, was to be seen standing in the water, ready to take up the combat, should Kalong have been worsted.

When the Orang Kaya reached the *Nemesis*, after the sad loss of his two sons, he found that one of his nephews had just been killed by the accidental discharge of a musket. Here the poor old man, completely overcome, burst into a flood of tears; and holding up the same number of fingers, intimated that the loss of three in one day was more than he could bear. Having obtained permission from the Rajah, he departed for Lundu with the remainder of his gallant little band, to bury his children near their native village with all the accustomed ceremonies.

On the second evening after entering the Serebas, the

expedition anchored off the site of old Paku, which had been destroyed on a former occasion by the *Dido*'s boats. New Paku was now taken, after a little skirmishing, and destroyed by fire.

Stragglers who had escaped from the piratical balla at Buting Marrow were occasionally fallen in with. Sometimes a raft was met with ; or a boat made from the bark of a tree, freshly sewn together with strips from the rattan, and stiffened with pieces of bamboo. Some wounded man had, in all probability been conveyed across the water by these hurried means of transit.

A stout fellow was taken one dark night, floating up with the tide, in a canoe of this description, by some of the Malays who had been left with the steamer : he made a desperate resistance, and severely wounded one of his captors. He was conveyed to the *Nemesis* ; and, as he refused to give any name, he was called by the seamen Serebas Jack. On the return of the Rajah, who had been absent some days, Serebas Jack fully expected that sentence of death would be passed upon him ; and his spirits rose wonderfully when he found that his life was to be spared. He became a great favourite with the Europeans. Before the steamer left the river, he begged hard to be allowed to go home, said that he was a very poor man, and had left some little children who would starve, as there was no one to look after them. This story rather moved the Rajah ; but the great difficulty was to protect him from the numerous parties of Dyaks

attached to the expedition, who, though they went out under pretence of foraging, would, if they caught him alone, inevitably take his head. The Rajah, however, took such an interest in Serebas Jack, that he directed a guard of his Malays to escort him past all danger.

Some weeks afterwards,—when the Serebas chiefs went to Sarawak, to make their submission to the Rajah,—he despaired in the crowd among the followers of the Chief Lingire the physiognomy of Serebas Jack, who evidently, although ill at ease, had something to communicate. After the audience was over, and the chiefs with their followers had departed, Serebas Jack found his way to the Rajah, and with dejected countenance opened the conversation by asking forgiveness for the part he had acted. "He had deceived the Rajah; he was not the poor man he had stated himself to be; he was a chief, powerful and rich; his name was Kabo, and he was a brother-in-law of Lingire."

After promising to abstain from such acts for the future, he admitted that he had been fond of piratical pursuits: that he had always accompanied the other chiefs when they went in grand ballas, filling up the intervals by a little private business on his own account.

On the 7th August, the expedition returned from the neighbourhood of Paku, and made their rendezvous around the *Nemesis*, in the Serebas.

When the news of the defeat extended to the piratical villages up the Rembas, several captive women, nine of

them of high rank, took advantage of the confusion that occurred to effect their escape. They had been captured at Sadong, and made slaves : they succeeded in seizing a small canoe ; and, hiding themselves by day, and cautiously paddling down in the dark, after enduring many privations they reached Linga in an exhausted state : here they were among friends, and within easy distance of their homes.

The object of the expedition was now to be followed up in another direction ; and, on the 9th August, the steamer and boats reached Rejang.

This town is inhabited by a tribe of Millanows, who differ from both Malays and Dyaks more in habits and customs than in appearance. It is raised some forty feet from the ground on huge piles, and has been frequently described. Nothing but insecurity and habitual plunder could have originated the erection of such an uncomfortable kind of dwelling. The people here were found well prepared for a siege. Independently of lelas (small brass guns), they had piles of large stones, and hot oil with which to anoint the heads of unwelcome visitors : the surrounding grounds were studded with ranjows and cunningly-contrived pitfalls. It is from this place that an attempt has more than once been made to carry on a trade in sago with Singapore, which, but for the harassing interference of the pirates, would have become very important. Some of their trading prahus measured sixty feet in length, by seventeen beam.

Although the Millanows do not preserve the heads of their enemies, a young warrior will occasionally bear home such a trophy with the same sort of pleasure with which a young fox-hunter takes home his first brush. On this occasion, a juvenile aspirant to love and glory, who had accompanied the expedition and wished to display a prize he had won, was met on landing by the women, who had already spied the relic from their elevated platform on the bank. They descended to meet it with a stick in each hand, and began to play on the unfortunate head, as if it had been a tomtom. After this performance, each in turn rushed into the river, as if to cleanse herself from the pollution. Although these gentle creatures did not strike with any violence, it was as much as the young hero could do to prevent his trophy from being pommelled into a jelly.

On the 11th August, after having wooded the steamer, the expedition moved higher up the Rejang, and anchored off the branch leading to Siriki. Alligators abound in these streams ; and the rhinoceros is said to be numerous in the interior.

After ascending this magnificent river, which for eighty miles up would admit a line-of-battle ship, they came to, on the 14th, off the mouth of the Kanowit,—a stream which had never yet been ascended by Europeans.

In the course of the progress of the expedition up the Rejang, the Rajah was waited on by the Panguerans and most of the influential men from Oya, Muka, Siriki, and

Igan, who gave many well-sounding assurances as to their good intentions, in return for which they received much wholesome counsel.

Leaving the steamer, the lighter part of the flotilla ascended the Kanowit branch, in the direction of the Serebas country. It is thickly populated by the Sakarran and other tribes, who had long assisted in manning the piratical ballas.

Many of the Dyak allies had returned home ; but the native force accompanying the Rajah still consisted of about 2000 men.

The object being to punish the guilty, particular orders were given to spare all unresisting men ; and on no account were women or children to be molested. These orders were scrupulously attended to ; and, although there were very few of the attacking party who had not suffered, or who had not on some occasion lost a relation by the hands of the people whose country they were now invading, still no act of cruelty occurred.

The progress up the Kanowit was slow, by reason of the rapidity of the stream, and the freshets after the rain ; the inhabitants had thus ample time to decamp, but their villages and farm-houses were destroyed. In every house evidence was found of their fondness for human heads ; they met our senses in every stage of what was considered preservation,—from the old and dried-up, and therefore less offensive, to the fresh-baked, and therefore very unpleasant specimen.

The whole country on either bank of this river is rich and fertile in the extreme. Fields of cotton, sugar-cane, and padi, with cocoa-nut and fruit-trees in variety, grow in the greatest luxuriance. Pigs in hundreds, ducks and poultry without number, proved that these people were robbers from choice, and not from necessity.

In every house cotton-looms for making cloth were found. The country at each mile improved in beauty: the scenery was varied by hill and dale; while a succession of open spaces, cleared for cultivation, gave evidence of a dense population well able to enrich themselves by honest industry. Our party were informed that, if they continued to advance for the next four days, they would still find the country continue to improve.

The Sakarrans prided themselves on being able to send out eighty bangkongs, manned by 2800 warriors. Confident in their own strength, they had never taken any extraordinary measures for their defence: they little expected a visit from an organised body of 2000 Malays and Dyaks, led by an European Rajah of Sarawak, and a handful of Englishmen. The unwelcome visitors, however, were come at last, penetrating upwards of one hundred miles into the interior of their country; come to convince them that such atrocities as had disgraced them for so many years could no longer be committed with impunity.

Enough, however, had now been done in the way of chastisement for one occasion; "for while," the Rajah

well observed, "we stopped far short of driving them to desperation, we still made them feel that they were no longer secure from punishment, even in their remotest retreats."

On the 18th August the expedition again dropped down the Kanowit. On their way they met some twenty bangkongs from Mato, a place recently destroyed by the pirates. This was a detachment from a large force which the Mato people had left at the mouth of the river. They were handsome boats, about sixty feet in length; swift, light, and well armed. It was the first time they ever had the courage to enter these dangerous waters, and they were not a little disappointed—especially as they were smarting under such recent injuries—at having to turn back without being allowed to settle accounts with their oppressors.

Among the prisoners taken in the course of this expedition was a Dyak boy about nine years old, whose father, as well as a brother, were in the pirate balla, and fell on the night of 31st July. This boy was brought to the Rajah's prahu. He was an intelligent little fellow, Ranjah by name: after a while he appeared quite at home; smoked a cigar; ate and chatted away as unconcerned as possible. When the boats, on their return, approached his late home, he stated that he knew where some jars with many valuables had been buried: they were found at the spot pointed out by him. The moment they were put on board, Ranjah thought that he had

paid sufficiently for his ransom ; and, with tears in his eyes, for the first time begged that he might be put on shore. "If I let you go," said the Rajah, "how will you find your way to your friends ; for three days they have left their houses ?" "If you let me go" answered the boy, "I will find my way ; I know the jungle well, and my mother will not be far away, as she does not know what has become of me." The Malays who were present said it was very true ; and that at his age it would be quite safe to trust a Dyak to his own guidance and instinct. When the Rajah told him he should have his liberty, and gave him some clothes, he soon forgot his tears ; and having received everything he asked for, such as a wine-glass, a tin of preserved meat, and a few minor articles, he was anxious to get away, to shew his mother what the Tuan Besar (Great Sir) had given him ; a packet of food was made up, sufficient to last him three days, to which was added a bottle of water. He embarked in a canoe under the care of a trustworthy Malay and a well-armed escort, and was landed near where his mother's house once stood : he was guarded beyond the reach of any of the scattered bands from the expedition, and then left to find his own way.

This boy had excited much interest among the Europeans. From his brother, who subsequently visited Sarawak, it was ascertained that for two days Ranjah had wandered on in the jungle path before he met any of his tribe : he had been careful of his provisions, and

had plenty left when he was fallen in with. The treatment of this child had a good effect upon the Sakarran Dyaks, as was proved by the confidence with which numbers of them afterwards visited the "Lion's Den" at Sarawak.

In the evening the expedition came to an anchor in the Rejang. The greater part of the auxiliary native force, having permission, returned to their homes.

Tano, the petty chief of some Rejang Dyaks, well acquainted with the people of the river, came on board to know if the Rajah would give an audience to the pirate chiefs, who had followed him down the river for that purpose.

They came on board at nine o'clock. The chief spokesman was a tall, raw-boned fellow, but he had rather a pleasant expression of countenance. His name was Jawi. They came from a creek, up which was the only village house that had offered any resistance : they were fine specimens of Dyaks, wearing long black hair, and a number of brass rings, as well in their ears as round their arms and legs. It is a common caution on the coast, to "beware of a Dyak with a profusion of rings ; he is sure to be one of the pirate band."

A long conference was held. Jawi said it was very true that they went head-hunting ; and he admitted that they were indifferent as to whose head they took, or whose property they plundered, as long as they could exchange it for salt and iron : but he contended that these

were not the habits of the community ; that it was all done by the hot-blooded young men, who were difficult to control. If the community agreed to abstain for ever from piracy, would the Rajah punish the whole, for the acts of a few ?

The Rajah replied that he would endeavour to spare the well-disposed ; but, he added, conversing in the Dyak style, “ If you see sparrows devouring your rice, do you not try to kill them ? and if by chance some linnets are amongst them, do they not run the same risk as the company they keep ? In a flock of birds it is impossible to distinguish the good from the bad.”

Jawi in the end found that he got the worst of the argument ; so they promised to do their best to endeavour to persuade Buah Ryah of Insabi, the chief of the Kanowit River, to enter into an agreement with them to give up their piratical and head-hunting cruises.

Before taking their departure, they requested permission to see the dreaded fire-ship that had done such fearful execution on the night of the fight :—they had never seen one before. They looked about ; and after partaking of brandy and water appeared quite at their ease.

On the 19th August, the *Nemesis*, taking in tow the *Singh Rajah* and European boats, proceeded up the Rejang, to inquire into the proceedings of the Kanowit Dyaks, who had long been the great receivers of plundered property. In the evening they anchored near two long houses, raised, like the others, on piles forty feet high,

full of natives ; one faced the river, the other was situated up the creek. These buildings contained no fewer than 1500 people.

At night a conference was held. They could neither deny nor excuse the charge brought against them, not only of being in league with the pirates, but of occasionally joining their balla ; in proof of which human heads were found in their houses. They were glad to get off with no heavier punishment than a fine. The Kanowits are a tattooed race.

While the conference was going on, a splash was heard as of a man in the water ; and the rapid current, in spite of every one being on the *qui rice*, and lights at hand, soon carried the object out of sight. While the Europeans were yet wondering and gaping about, a young Malay, called Anah Ular (snake's child), plunged into the river, and striking out down the stream, grasped, just as he was sinking, the hand of one of the *Royalist's* crew.

The fines, which consisted of brass guns and jars, were slow in forthcoming, until some little demonstration was made on the part of the Rajah towards helping himself.

These guns and jars were afterwards sold by public auction at Sarawak ; and the proceeds were applied to rewarding the captors of prisoners taken without being hurt—a regulation of the Rajah, and an example that will have its effect in introducing a more humane system of warfare.

On the 22nd, the expedition quitted the Rejang. Several Siriki prahus took advantage of the convoy to exchange the oppressive government of Sheriff Musahur (the Fortunate), for the more mild rule of the Rajah of Sarawak, at which place they all arrived on the 24th August, 1849.

Such were this year's operations against these hordes, than whom few more formidable infest the Eastern Archipelago. The blow they then received is the greatest contribution yet made by England towards the security of the highway of nations. How long its effect will last is a problem resolvable by those general rules which apply to human nature and human operations of any kind. After vigorous measures to eradicate a disease, we are commended to a systematic care of health restored ; if this be left to take care of itself, the morbid symptoms quickly re-appear.

It seems almost ludicrous that the facts just narrated should require any sequel in the shape of a defence. Nevertheless, sundry public speeches and proceedings lie before me, testifying that some minds will remain unconvinced, even while the majority of understandings would be affronted by the offer of more proof. I shall now therefore follow up the subject as I proposed, first adverting to the charges publicly made against all concerned in the chastisement of the Bornean pirates ; and then offering *my* answer to them, as a small contribution to the cause of truth.

In the meantime I may fitly close this chapter with the words of a well-informed writer in the Singapore *Free Press*, who in February 1850, six months after the destruction of the Serebas fleet, bore this testimony to the change which it had already caused in the commercial sphere within its influence :—

“ A few, a very few years ago, no European merchant-vessels ventured on the north-west coast of Borneo ; now they are numerous and safe. Formerly, shipwrecked crews were attacked, robbed, and enslaved ; now they are protected, fed, and forwarded to a place of safety. The native trade now passes with careless indifference over the very same track, between Malludu and Singapore, where but a little while ago it was liable to the peril of capture ; the crews of hundreds of prahus are no longer exposed to the loss of life or the loss of liberty : and a degree of security now reigns, so remarkably contrasted with the insecurity of past time, that we may well be tempted onward in a career recommended by policy and tested by experience. The recent successful proceedings on the coast of Borneo have been followed by the submission of the pirate hordes of Serebas and Sakarran. The previous relaxation of the system had led to renewed outbreaks of piracy, to fresh depredations at sea, and to the loss of many guiltless lives.

“ What further evidence is needed on this subject ? ” the writer of the article proceeds to ask. “ Or, is it resolved, in spite of all, to sacrifice the innocent to the

guilty, the trader to the pirate, the cultivator to the marauder, the peaceful to the turbulent, the oppressed to the oppressor? We are confident that the foolish, because ignorant, outcry which has been raised on this subject cannot long continue. It must be at an end as soon as people take the trouble to learn, or have fairly placed before them the real truth."

CHAPTER XI.

REPLY TO CHARGES MADE BY MR. HUME, PARTICULARLY AS THEY AFFECT
SIR JAMES BROOKE.

I HAVE now related those proceedings against the pirates of Borneo in 1849, on which, both in and out of Parliament (always, I believe, under the same hidden influences), the gravest charges have been reiterated against those of Her Majesty's servants upon whom was imposed the duty of striking a decisive blow at piracy.

My next task is to refute those charges, particularly as they affect my truly noble friend, Sir James Brooke.

Mr. Hume has now twice moved for "inquiry" into those "massacres of inoffensive people;" and he observes correctly that such charges must, unless inquired into, "blast Sir James Brooke's character." I grant it; but I deny Mr. Hume's exclusive right to dictate a mode of inquiry, or to repudiate an inquiry already made.

Mr. Hume *may* at some time of his life have had a regard for some respectable man's character, even if he now has little for his own. In *any* one's case in which he

ever felt an interest, has he not been accustomed to consider the *acclamation* of an *ordinary* grand jury, the most decisive acquittal that could befall a character assailed? How is it, then, that aspersions cast upon Sir James Brooke in 1850, and rejected by a majority of 169 *in* Parliament, and by all England—for so it may be said—out of Parliament, are reproduced by the man who declares in the same breath, that “it will be a great satisfaction to him if it should turn out that he has taken too strong a view—an erroneous view?” Moved originally by public considerations, might not patriotism be satisfied when 169 independent gentlemen decide that he *is* in error, while only 29 can hesitate? Yet Mr. Hume denies himself the “great satisfaction” of being thus convinced; and undertakes, in 1851, to show the same House of Commons that *theirs* are the “erroneous views.” Again, with what result? *Two hundred and thirty* members now repudiate the vocation of “blasting characters,” while only *nineteen* are not ashamed. Yet even now we are told that the question only sleeps: indeed it *scarcely* sleeps. Mr. Hume has very lately reiterated his worst imputations,—not unwilling, apparently, to continue the dupe of others more obscure, whose malignant misinformation has deceived their betters into an expenditure of their own and the public time, which was worthy of a better cause.

I was absent from England when those debates in Parliament took place. Assailing more particularly the

character of Sir James Brooke, the charges advanced implicate also Admirals Cochrane and Collier, Captains Farquhar and Wallage, and myself; for I served, when last afloat, in those latitudes where arose the cause of all discussion—the destruction of the “alleged” pirate fleet: indeed, I was very near having Captain Farquhar’s part to act; I should have acted precisely as he did—not without pain—nor did he:—but, without hesitation or remorse. In amusing myself therefore, and in aspiring to amuse the public, with a retrospect of voyages in those seas, I consider it a duty, and it is an acceptable one, to re-asseverate and to prove those facts which are still disputed by ignorance, or by obstinacy, or by something worse.

I am far from denying that in some points in connection with these subjects there *may* be a conscientious difference of opinion, especially when information looks authentic, and when informants are plausible. I would not impugn, therefore, the sincerity of those nineteen legislators, whose sympathies are still with the Bornean pirate at the expense of the English gentleman. I may remind them, however, without offence, that there is a connection between the understanding and the will, which makes it our own fault oftener than we suspect it to be,—when “seeing we see, and do not perceive.” But, again and again, in Parliament, in Exeter Hall, or on any other arena, we are content to stand or fall by the voice of the public and by facts. In the latter place, more generally

resounding with the words of charity, some things have been said on the subject of Borneo which, from their incorrectness and their bitterness, are unworthy of a place where so many matters are well discussed touching the highest interests of mankind. But *then* it is—it can only be—by people who *know what they are talking about*; whereas, on *this* subject, there is often an ignorance even of common geography, which leads them into many absurdities,—not to mention other and various points of information, without which not the most able orator is entitled to stand up and work upon the impulses of an unreflecting and confiding audience.

There *is*, doubtless, in the councils of Providence, a time ordained when wars shall cease in all the world; but many signs, not yet visible in the distance, must herald that dawning of universal peace: and no peremptory “resolution” of a Peace Society—no Essays on the unjustifiableness of armaments, can precipitate “the times and the seasons which THE FATHER hath put in *his own power*.” Such a trip to the Eastern Archipelago as was suggested by a certain Captain Aaron Smith, amid “great consternation on the platform,” would make plain to any of these respectable theorists what unattainable wishes arise out of their closet thoughts: how unfair towards fellow-Christians as sincere as themselves, but only more practical, are some speeches uttered by well-meaning enthusiasts,—who, ignorant of the vast world and of its actual doings, have worked themselves up vainly

to expect, and eloquently, but not wisely, to descant upon a premature realisation of millennial hopes.

I have before me a private letter from my friend, Sir James Brooke, of which one passage would alone stir me to the task I have undertaken. I will commence by quoting it, that an honest man may say a few words for himself :—

“ We have taught them (the pirates) a lesson in a month, which will serve to keep them in check for some years, if not altogether, and which has thus saved the innocent and peaceful inhabitants of the coast from a system of depredation, the horrors and the consequences of which can only be fully appreciated by those on the spot.

“ For this good service I have been greatly abused and maligned by a party at home. I was surprised when first this attack was made on my reputation as a public man, and my character as a private one ; but I was neither confounded nor alarmed : on the contrary, I was inclined to be savage and fierce, and, in my rage, to rend friends as well as foes. As these gross attacks became more gross, more vindictive, and more frequent, I became cool and collected, and readily saw that my enemies were unwise and over-abusive. I collected the evidence necessary, which was full and conclusive, to rebut these malicious accusations ; and, at the present time, with such defenders as the cause of truth has found, I have no feeling on the subject, excepting a

charitable contempt for those who have deemed it right to become my enemies and persecutors. I owe much to my friends ; and any pain I have suffered from these attacks has been a thousand-fold overbalanced by the kindness of those who have stepped forward to advocate my cause, and the cause of truth and humanity. These friends are dear to me, and my sense of obligation is equal to their kindness. I owe them a debt of gratitude ; but I owe it with pride, and with the feeling that I would repay it at any time that they needed a similar service, or any service that equal friendship (and there is no other) can render.

" By the last mail I received the approval of Government ; and I suppose that, when the battle has been fought on the floor of the House of Commons, this calumny will pass away ; that it will be forgotten by the mass ; regretted by the conscientious, who have joined in it from good motives ; and fed only by the few who have been actuated by malice, by spite, by jealousy, disappointment, or some other vile passion."

I have read attentively, since my return to England, the debates in the House of Commons of July, 1850, and July, 1851, on the subject which is conspicuously entitled " The charges against Sir James Brooke." Mr. Hume having been the mover for " inquiry " on both these occasions, I purpose to found my observations principally on his speeches ; this will admit a fair and full

examination of the points at issue, inasmuch as what Mr. Hume has said in Parliament includes all that ignorance or ill-nature has said anywhere.

I find two positions advanced by him ; and I deny them both.

His first position is. That the Malays and Dyaks of Serebas and Sakarran are not pirates.

His second. That, supposing they are pirates, an unjustifiable loss of life was inflicted on them by the naval force which attacked their fleet on the 31st July, 1849.

Some tasks are paradoxically difficult from their easiness. It is provoking to be put to great efforts for trifling ends. That which has long been with Mr. Hume a self-imposed amusement, is at our penitentiaries a mortifying punishment ; I mean the task of turning a crank and grinding *nothing*. But the hardened *habitué* cannot appreciate the disgust of those who are not amateurs. I have explained why *I* come to the crank at Mr. Hume's call. Before the appearance of a work, of which the shell only is mine, the kernel my friend's, his unobtrusive merits had their recompense—sufficient for him—in the affections of a people scarcely known by name to other Englishmen. The simple history disclosed in his journals placed him at once among the benefactors of his race ; and therefore I cannot again even name the Eastern Archipelago, without again bearing witness that the man who has chiefly given it interest for *us* reflects on his country as much honour as she can confer on him. I

have another reason for entering on this subject. The omission to do so would disappoint Mr. Hume himself. In a published letter written within the last year, he expresses his surprise that Sir James Brooke "should sit down quietly under the heavy imputations under which he labours." But may they not sit so *lightly* on him, in consideration of their authors, as to make it no labour to sit under them?

His friends, however, need not be such philosophers; and Mr. Hume would probably be the first to express a charitable surprise, if a known friend of Sir James Brooke were to pass over the piracy question in a publication on the Indian seas. It is a manner of proceeding unknown to any English court of law, equity, or honour, to charge a man as an impostor, a public delinquent, a murderer, and then to say, "Prove you are not so;" nor could Parliament help Mr. Hume to fix on my friend these hard names more than he can help himself. Indeed, he possesses already all that truth could ever furnish him with from the East,—*and a little more*. Still, I am now at his service for a chapter or two. Those readers who have had enough of pirates may pass on to Chapter XVI., while the Honourable Member for Montrose may accompany me to the Serebas River,—where I advise him not to go alone.

As an admitted definition is rather useful, let us define a pirate:—

"A sea-robber."—*Johnson*.

“A salt-water thief”—*Shakspeare*.

And I believe that, according to law, *he* is a pirate, “who commits at sea those acts of robbery and depredation which, if committed on land, would amount to felony.”

And, according to international law, those persons form a piratical *community* who consent together thus to violate the universal law of society, in the spirit of universal hostility.*

To leave nothing unanswered which Mr. Hume has valued as an argument, I will first take *his* principal points of “evidence” in order, and then briefly add whatever else may seem to bear upon those “*strong* views,” which I desire, but scarcely hope, to give him the “great satisfaction” of admitting to be “erroneous” views.

The materials on which Mr. Hume relies to establish his arguments are as follows:—

1. The journals of Sir James Brooke, as quoted by Captain Mundy.
2. The works of Mr. H. W. Earl, author of “The Eastern Seas.”
3. Two letters from nameless officers, and two from Captains Young and Daniell, of the East India Company’s Naval Service.+
4. Letter from “a Gentleman.” Mr. W. H. Miles.
5. Address from “Merchants” of Singapore.
6. Letter from Captain The Hon. George Hastings, R.N.

* Kent.

+ Produced as four distinct authorities.

That Mr. Hume considers this an effective array, is seen by his running comments—such as this :—“ Though *such* testimony is borne in their favour, death and destruction has been dealt out against these unoffending people ” (the alleged pirates), and by the tone of several letters which have appeared since the last debate.

Reviewing his phalanx in the above order, we shall see what each is worth.

1. It is well known, that Sir James Brooke lent Captain Mundy his manuscript journals, as he had previously lent them to myself. Captain Mundy published portions of them ; and in *his* publication occurs a passage which represents the *Serebas* as being “ by no means warlike ; ” and as having “ a great dread of firearms.” These last words especially have been invaluable to Mr. Hume.

The original journals were written in 1838. We know how readily savages—the Caffres for example—adopt civilized modes of killing each other : so that such a statement as the above might be literally true when first made, and yet inapplicable in the course of a few years. This *is* in a great measure the case ; but this is not *the* right explanation of that discrepancy. Captain Mundy by a simple error of transcription makes an observation apply to the *Serebas* people, which applied in the original manuscript to an entirely different people—the *Land Dyaks* : “ *these*, ” says the author, “ are darker than the *Serebas* ; *they* are by no means warlike,” &c. Let the genuine sentence be seen parallel with Captain

Mundy's inadvertent variation, and there is an end of an *argument*, to which Mr. Hume even yet clings with the tenacity characteristic of a weak cause and of himself.

Sir James Brooke's manuscript runs thus :—

"The Land Dyaks are inferior to those of the coast, *they* are darker than the Serebas. *They* are by no means so warlike as the others; and, from their great dread of firearms, may be kept in subjection by comparatively a small body of Malays."

Captain Mundy's paragraph thus :—

"*The Serebas* are by no means so warlike as the others; and, from their great dread of firearms, may be kept in subjection by comparatively a small body of Malays." Vol. I., p. 237.

Within two pages of this passage, is one which might have corrected this mistake; for at p. 235 we read: "They (the Sakarrans) are the most savage of the tribes, the Serebas excepted, and delight in head-hunting and pillage."

As to this ridiculous question of firearms, I have explained, in a former chapter, that these piratical communities comprise both Malays and Dyaks; that the Malays of *Serebas* were always particularly well-armed; and that among the Dyaks, although many had not firearms when Mr. Brooke first wrote of them, yet some *had*: and it is absurd to suppose that a writer could mean to describe a people as being afraid to use, or even *to hear the sound* of a weapon, which he knew them to be familiar with. In his "letter from Borneo," so far back as 1841,

Mr. Brooke stated, in a passage which I shall presently give at length, that the *unwarlike* Malays “employ the Serebas and Sakarran Dyaks, aided by a small party with firearms, to attack other tribes.” This alone would be conclusive against any argument resting on an isolated and mis-quoted passage: but when Mr. Hume builds in 1851 upon foundations of 1838, he must think that the Dyak has been as unprogressive as himself. Not only did they use firearms against the boats of the *Dido* in 1842, but, ever since that time, guns and gunpowder have been the articles which they most eagerly purchase or plunder. Nor is this incompatible with a kind of cowardice,—not however extending, that I know of, to a fear of *sound*. Many a speech of Mr. Hume’s has dispersed the House of Commons more effectually than a musket report ever frightened the Dyaks. By means of the free market of Singapore, the Malays have long known, if not the name, the productions of *Birmingham*: and it is not likely that such powerful tribes as the Serebas and Sakarrans would neglect the musket, after it had been adopted by all their neighbours, and practically introduced to their own notice by our boats’ crews. In a Lanun pirate prahu, taken by the Dutch last year, there were sixty-four muskets neatly arranged on racks, and the cabin had three port-holes, each bristling with a lela.

I have already stated that the war-prahus of the Serebas Malays are as well appointed as the *Lanuns*’; and

I shall presently shew that these communities are intimate with each other, and often act together.

Still, pirates *are* often cowards. Theirs is a sneaking, *cowardly* occupation, and operates as such on those who follow it. So says Captain Kloff, of the Dutch navy, an officer of much experience:—"In general these wretches exhibit little courage." He also says: "They are *all supplied with powder and shot*. They fear extremely the *armed ships of the Government*."

The fleet of 31st July, 1849, had muskets in every boat; and if we calculate them at the low average of eight to each boat, this would distribute 1200 muskets among people "*who run away from the very sound*." It is *admitted* that in the same fleet there were *four* lelas. This is not many; but it will be remembered that, according to the object, or to the anticipated emergencies of any particular expedition, the pirates go out in the Malay *prahu*, or in the Dyak *bangkong*. The latter is the *lighter* vessel; and of such the fleet destroyed was principally composed. *They* do not so commonly mount guns, as they are chiefly used when some necessity for rapid dispersion is anticipated. They are then easily run over shoals, or up narrow creeks; or hauled up into the jungle, where the rattans, which hold the planks together, are cut asunder, and the pieces of the boat concealed. Thus, a *bangkong* carrying fifty or sixty men, pursued to the jungle, will wholly disappear before the pursuers

reach her. The crew will have walked off, each with his paddle, or some other portion of the boat's gear. Again, if these boats are caught in a sudden gale or squall at sea, out jump the crew; and holding to the gunwale with one hand, supporting themselves with a paddle in the other, they will remain thus for hours, until the wind and sea have subsided.

In the expedition of the *Dido*, guns (principally long brass swivels, or lelas) were taken at Patusan from these pirates, which realised by public auction at Singapore £900. Although taken in a fort, they were mounted on ship-blocks or carriages, and had only recently been landed. I bought five of them, which I can show Mr. Hume whenever he pleases. The Malay chiefs highly prize these guns, which are of native workmanship, and very handsome. Each has a name, and a history attached to it, which they are never tired of telling. It was said that the most eager bidders at the above sale were Malays, agents for their old owners, the Serebas chiefs. I had them all stamped with a private mark, by which they might be recognised, should we meet again.

This kind of gun is equivalent to money, and is dealt with as money by the Malays.

These explanations are not new to Mr. Hume. The very same work, which by one accidental omission put, as he thought, a sword into his hand, offered him fifty explanations, in which it ought to have been sheathed. He

brandishes it still,—but only to wound himself; let me help him, by republishing one of his latest cuts.

“Sir James Brooke caused many hundred ~~WEAK SAVAGES~~ to be slaughtered under the allegation that they were pirates, who, according to his own published statements, are wholly *incapable either of offence or defence*, whether against Europeans, or the more civilised inhabitants of the same countries!”

2. I pass to Mr. Hume’s second witness, Mr. H. W. Earl, author of an interesting work, “The Eastern Seas.”

In him Mr. Hume parades an excellent authority as on his side, who is a decisive witness against him on the point at issue.

The Honourable Member cites Mr. Earl as “declaring that the Serebas do not deserve the character given to them.”*

In that gentleman’s work I have failed to find any mention whatever of the Serebas by name. Truth, however, is my object; and therefore I will first extract the few passages, which on cursory perusal might appear favourable to these people; and then a page or two, which will place beyond dispute what *is* the testimony of Mr. Earl.

He has four chapters on Borneo, comprising particular notices of Sarawak and the north-western tribes. The following passages occur:—

Page 254. “The Dyaks, or aboriginal inhabitants of Borneo, constitute by far the most interesting portion of its population.”

* Hansard.

Page 260. "The Dyaks are a much superior people to the Malays."

Page 262. "Their domestic relations towards each other,—that is to say, *towards members of their own family and tribe*,—are of a mild nature, according with their general dispositions."

And, after a particular account of the Dyak propensity for head-hunting, which Mr. Earl is inclined to ascribe to a religious superstition, he continues:—

Pages 271—273. "The horrid massacres perpetrated by the wilder Dyaks would seem to sanction an opinion that all attempts to improve them would be hopeless: but I feel confident that no people on earth, with the exception perhaps of their counterparts, the natives of South America, are so susceptible of civilisation. * * * Freedom of commerce, which has hitherto been found the best instrument of civilisation, would rapidly improve the condition of these people: and were an European settlement, with a free port, established on one of the numerous large rivers, the Dyaks would soon be brought into communication with it, for they are greatly addicted to commerce, and spare no pains to procure articles of foreign manufacture, for which they have acquired a taste."

Lastly, at page 210, in allusion to the then recent discovery of antimony-ore at Sarawak, he says of *that* place, that "the rapidity with which it has risen to importance proves how very little encouragement the

natives require, to induce them to turn the valuable productions of the island to account."

Now, what does all this amount to? It bears in no way upon the character of the *tribes charged with piracy*, but on a part of the question which we are not yet discussing,—the suppression of the evil, and most particularly where the good is ready to spring up. In the neighbourhood of Sarawak, or in any other neighbourhood where commerce waits but for security, *give* it security; extinguish that pest, of which the signs are everywhere the same,—an *absence* of commercial life; an unbusy and desolate aspect upon every shore and river-side within its influence. Whenever Dyak or Malay shall manifest an inclination for commerce, and a taste for foreign manufactures, surely it is our duty and interest to foster it, and so to stand between them and their murderous and pillaging neighbours, that their commercial demands may not necessarily be confined to gunpowder from Dartford, and muskets from Birmingham.

But let us see what Mr. Earl's work contains clearly applicable to the *very* Dyaks of SEREBAS and SAKARRAN.

Mr. Hume "has given great attention to the subject;" and yet his greatest errors must in charity be ascribed to misconceptions, which even a *little* unprejudiced attention would have prevented. His *constancy* to erroneous impressions once conceived must be referred to other phrenological peculiarities. Every writer whom he can have consulted—certainly all those whom he or his

friends have quoted,—Mr. Earl, *Mr. Brooke*, (an accepted authority, before he became “wedded to honours which he never wooed,”) Mr. Crawford—any one of these might have corrected his *fundamentally* erroneous idea that all Dyaks are alike. Nor is this confined to Mr. Hume. Mr. Cobden also, after divulging to the House on the authority of Crawford that “the Dyaks of Serebas and Sakarran are not *Malays*,” considers that he has proved they are not pirates! He can argue more conclusively when he understands his subject. It may be desirable, however, here to record a clear and simple explanation of this point.

Dyaks differ *from each other* considerably, this difference being attributable chiefly to *position*,—according as they are “Hill Dyaks,” or “Coast Dyaks.” The former, though not free from the evil propensities incident to an uncivilised state, may be admitted to deserve what Mr. Earl says of them. The latter—living either close to the sea, or up the great rivers whence they go down to the sea—have, by evil communication with the Malays who dwell at the entrances of their rivers, “corrupted their own good manners;” have become mixed up with the Malays, and have adopted with them the nefarious pursuits of piracy and slave-trade, engrafted on their own practices of foraging for heads. Referring to this distinction, Mr. Earl mentions “milder” and “wilder” Dyaks. “The milder,” he says, “in the Chinese territory,”—somewhat humanised, I conclude, by the influence of

commercial industry,—“have totally abandoned their barbarous customs.” The same may certainly be said now of the Dyaks of Sarawak. But the “wilder” Dyaks, while from superstition and congenital propensity they are murderers, are also *made* pirates and slave-dealers by that accident of locality which brings them under the influence and instruction of the Malays to whom *these* pursuits are natural. I have briefly stated this in a former chapter; but it will bear enforcing here, because it is *the* answer to every asseveration that “the Dyaks” are not pirates. If they are “Sea Dyaks” (including those of the large rivers), “Coast Dyaks,” “Wild Dyaks,” they are almost invariably PIRATES. If they are “Land Dyaks,” “Hill Dyaks,” “Mild Dyaks”—they *may* be “harmless, inoffensive people,” as respects *piracy*; though, except in the regenerated province of Sarawak, they will still collect human heads.

To no Dyak tribes in Borneo do these statements more truly apply than to those of the Serebas and Sakarran rivers. One other circumstance borne in mind would prevent much “beating of the air” on this subject. The tribes of these two rivers so habitually unite their forces for piratical expeditions, and become when thus united so mixed together, that both the rivers and both their respective races are often comprehended under either names,—I mean in conversation or familiar writing. In strictest accuracy we must speak of them as “the Malays and Dyaks of Serebas and Sakarran;” but to avoid

tediousness, when this has been once premised, we include all under either designation, unless the contrary is evident. This unity of habits, pursuits, and movements has existed from time immemorial between these communities. For example—I open at a venture my “Expedition to Borneo,” and read as follows:—“These Dyaks” (the perpetrators of some atrocities alluded to) “were chiefly from Sakarran, mixed with the Serebas.” So it is in many places; and hence it follows that where, as for example in M. de Groot’s report, the Serebas pirates are convicted by name, it is no acquittal of the Sakarrans—and *vice versa*. They are strictly partners in piracy.

And now to examine Mr. Earl’s positive evidence against these very people, I begin with a letter, which he has addressed to Sir James Brooke since the destruction of their fleet.

“As one of the oldest, indeed I believe the oldest surviving British visitor to the western coasts of Borneo, I feel myself called upon to offer my testimony as to the state of those coasts sixteen years ago. I have a lively recollection, even at this distant date, of the terror in which the coast was kept by *the very tribes* which you have been instrumental in checking.”

Thus Mr. Earl was a precursor of Sir James Brooke in the Eastern Seas: his publication, also, preceded anything of the kind by Mr. Brooke; and if so, what becomes of Mr. Hume’s assertion that “Sir James Brooke was the first person who denounced the Dyaks as pirates?”

And now, how does Mr. Earl denounce them?

In "The Eastern Seas," at page 269, occurs the following passage:—"A year or two before my arrival on the coast, the entire population of the town of Slaku was cut off, during a night attack, by a powerful tribe of WILD DYAKS from the north-west coast, who came down in search of human heads. They swept the whole coast, from their native place, SAKARRAN,* to Sambas. None of the inhabitants of Slaku survived to tell the tale.

* * * The people of Borneo Proper," he adds, "care not whose heads they obtain, if their own are untouched," &c.

Mr. Hume, professing to know and believe this work, has yet "failed to obtain *one single iota* of proof that the Serebas and other tribes are in the habit of foraging for heads." Yet he has excusably declined an invitation to Sarawak, saying "he should expect—he would not say what."

Still—is head-taking *piracy*? Admit that it is a silly pastime,—admit, even, that a man's head-piece is his private property: still, a fleet of prahus bringing home only the *skulls* of every individual in the town of Slaku might not be adjudged in Courts of Admiralty to have plundered *such* "piece-goods" as would bring them within legal definition as pirates.

We can afford to admit all this, if Mr. Hume will,

* In the letter above mentioned, from Mr. Earl to Sir James Brooke, he rectifies an *erratum* in his book, by which Sakarran is called Sehassau; I therefore adopt the correction.

for a moment longer, keep his own witness "in the box."

His friends, the Dyaks, while only beheading towns, shall, as suggested by Lord Palmerston, be engaged in an "amiable pursuit—merely intertribal war," if we may just ask Mr. Earl another question,—Whether they do not occasionally *vary* their amusement, and combine the business of plunder with the pleasures of assassination?

Mr. Earl replies—"They do."

"The north-west coast, from Point Datu to Borneo Proper, an extent of nearly three hundred miles, is scarcely known to the native trader, although it is held to be as rich in natural productions as any other part of the island. The country is occupied by several powerful Dyak tribes, differing only in dialect, who here, as elsewhere, are engaged in perpetual warfare. The *most adventurous* of the tribes is that of SAKARRAN, a spot about a hundred miles to the eastward of Sarawak, the people of which are said by the Malays to be of a more lofty stature than the others—a statement which I suspect means only that the tribe is more powerful. They sometimes make long voyages down the coast, and their murderous visit to Sambas has already been mentioned. The Dyaks, however, are not the sole occupants of this part of the coast, for the LANUNS, a piratical people from the island of Magindano, are established in several of the harbours, where they live chiefly in their prahus, which are from twenty to sixty tons burthen. During the south-east

monsoon, a proportion of these vessels cruise in the more civilised parts of the Archipelago, chiefly near the entrances of the straits leading to Singapore, where they attack and plunder the prahus of the native traders ; and, when about to return to their haunts in Borneo, generally manage to surprise some small town or village, the entire population of which is often carried away into slavery. During the absence of the fleets, the women and children remain on the coast of Borneo with the rest of the prahus, to take charge of the booty already collected ; and, as the females are nearly as warlike as the men, and *understand the use of firearms*, they are considered sufficiently powerful to beat off the Dyaks, from whom alone they are liable to molestation.

“ *The DYAKS and the LANUNS, indeed, occasionally join forces* ; in which case the human heads and the iron procured in the cruise down the coast are claimed by the former, the remainder of the plunder being resigned to* the Lanuns. When a sufficient quantity of plunder and slaves have been collected by the Lanuns, they return to their own country, and their place is supplied by others, who settle for a time on the coast in order to enrich themselves by the same means.”

Here they are then, — these Sakarran innocents, — denounced (and *not* first by Sir James Brooke) as confederates, harbourers, or hirelings, as may suit them, of the greatest scourge of the Archipelago, the Lanuns, whom even Mr. Cobden invites the Rajah to chastise ; and

thus it is, that the more we learn of them from competent authorities, the worse we find them ; and the fact here elicited that, besides atrocities on their own account, they are at the service of any chance pirates-of-passage, who may require auxiliary cut-throats and pillagers, is confirmed by Mr. Brooke's earliest publication, a work which is as much to his honour as anything he has ever written,—his disinterested and Christian "Letter from Borneo," 1841.

"The *unwarlike* Malays," he writes, "when they would without risk plunder a weak Dyak tribe, seizing also for slavery the women and children, generally employ the SEREBAS and SAKARRAN DYAKS, aided by a small party *with firearms*, to make the attack. The terms of the agreement are that the Malays get two-thirds of the property and slaves, while the Dyaks get the other third and all the heads. Of twenty Dyak tribes under this Government more than half have been robbed of their wives and children in part ; and one tribe is without women and children amongst them, upwards of two hundred having been led away into slavery at Sakarran and Sadong."

Again,

"Several of the Bornean Pangerans about six months since 'invited' a large party of SAKARRAN DYAKS to the *plunder* of the tribes up the river. A hundred war prahus of the Sakarrans, carrying 3000 men, arrived at Kuchin and requested permission to make the attack."

Mr. Brooke's opportune arrival at Kuchin, and his energetic demonstration against this sort of entertainment, sent the invited empty away. But "since that time," proceeds the journal, "another native chief has sent the SAKARRAN DYAKS to attack a tribe called Sunpro. After a night surprise, they captured forty women and children, killing about the same number of men, and burning their village."

"Heads collected—slaves procured—vessels plundered on moderate terms." Such then is the calling of the tribes in question. No book, no living witness of credit, can be consulted without verifying the long unchallenged testimony of Mr. Brooke himself, penned before any circumstance had arisen which malignity could distort into a motive for false-colouring. Twelve years ago *he* echoed a truth which was before notorious, but which had never been certified so unsuspiciously, nor with such disinterested views—that "PIRACY and the SLAVE-TRADE" were openly carried on within a short distance of three European settlements on a scale and system revolting to humanity; that, within a few days' sail of Singapore, horrors had been for years enacted, which might be suppressed in a few months by vigorous measures; fleets of LANUNS each year waiting for the prahus bound for our great Eastern emporium, capturing them, and often inflicting on their crews miseries equal to those of the middle passage; and fleets of the Dyaks of SEREBAS and SAKARRAN, sweeping the shores *even to CELEBES*,

murdering the men of all nations, and capturing women and children ; rendering the communication along the coast dangerous, and preventing the cultivation of the soil near the sea-shore."

What matters it who "first denounced" such people ? Let Mr. Hume assign the disgrace to Sir James Brooke ; let his "merchants" bestow a share of it on *me*. "Things that are not let them make to be, and things that are let them make not to be," as a Malay would say. Confessedly, however, the most earnest, though not the first, appeal to England *was* made by the first English Rajah of Sarawak. He was qualified above others to certify how largely these tribes have contributed to a scourge, which foreign nations had long before stigmatised as "THE CALAMITY OF THE ARCHIPELAGO !" Twelve years have passed since *his* appeal came home—not a new thing, but from a new kind of man ; offering remedial suggestions, pure and disinterested, and ready, if it would secure their adoption, "either to give place to another or to remain himself :" and he was then Rajah of Sarawak. The remedies he proposed were—not fire and sword, but "the extension of commerce, the propagation of Christianity, the amelioration of an innocent and industrious race." *And* be it *repeated* that all his suggestions came recommended by an opinion—too sanguine perhaps for some, but coincided in by the most experienced—that the evil, which stood in the way of so much good, might be suppressed *in a few months* by

vigorous measures. If any now estimate Sir James Brooke's sagacity by the fact that piracy is unsuppressed, we must first agree as to what *are* "vigorous measures." But this would touch prematurely on a separate question.

We have now sifted Mr. Earl and Mr. Brooke, from whose works albeit the uncandid and the perverse may detach passsages to give a colouring to *their* views, common sense will decide thus much,—that there are Dyaks wild as well as mild,—wild even beyond wild feats in craniology: exercising a destructive vigilance over the *commerce* of a vast expanse of ocean and extent of shore, which, through a want of counteracting vigilance, has become their empire and their home. Such is the evidence of Mr. Hume's two *unimpeachable* witnesses. With no very high opinion of the one as a Rajah, he insists on quoting him as a writer: therefore so may we. The other gentleman is *equally* an authority; he is at this time an able contributor to colonial literature, and an ornament to the society of Singapore. How could the honourable member cite two such men, and not know that they would instruct where they were meant to bamboozle, and clear what they were called to mystify?

But now, according to *his* Law-Dictionary, a "pirate" must use a particular kind of boat, and must attack a particular kind of ship—a square-rigged vessel.

It is scarcely a question for serious argument, whether the shape of a sail, or the size of a hull should determine the character of a "salt-water thief." It is as if a land-

lubber, to be a pickpocket, must rob a guardsman ; or to be a burglar, *must* try the doors of Burnley Hall. Surely he is equally worthy of Norfolk Island, if he exercise his crow-bar on the porter's lodge. But if this objection be serious, it is easily answered. It is easily shown that these pirate-tribes have been guilty of attacks on square-rigged vessels.

A return has been produced in Parliament from Lloyd's, showing that between thirty and forty square-rigged vessels have been "captured, plundered, or molested" within the last twelve years by Malay or DYAK pirates,—the crews in many cases having been murdered. Grant that *all* these outrages cannot be brought home to the Screbas and Sakarrans ; still when we do convict *them* hundreds of miles from their own rivers,—"sweeping the coast even to Celebes,"—we may fairly lay to their charge a proportion of these outrages of which the perpetrators, though not named, are traced from "BORNEO." And, again, what is the fair inference from that despatch of the Consul at Manilla, cited by Lord Palmerston ? He says that during his five years of residence there "merchant-vessels, American or British, have been attacked, and their crews carried into slavery,—that square-rigged vessels have disappeared, and never been heard of, carried off, as it was presumed, by pirates : but that in consequence of recent operations of *British ships of war on the northern coast of Borneo*, as well as of the operations of the Dutch and Spaniards, trade is becoming more secure, and the

proceedings of *the* pirates had been considerably checked." Now *British* ships have acted against the SEREBAS and SAKARRAN hordes. If, therefore, since these operations fewer or no attacks have been made on merchant-vessels, the conclusion is that the former attacks were made by *them*.

But while we have only inferences to guide us in one direction, simply because there have been no cruizers in our own portion of these seas, we can find facts quite conclusive, where vigilance *has* been exercised, and records kept.

In De Groot's report, p. 107,* there are several distinct references to outrages committed by "flotillas of Dyak prahus" at Sambas, at Mampawa, and other places on the coast of Pontiana. They dared even to lie in wait for the man-of-war schooner *Haai*, and in one engagement killed thirty-seven of the Dutch, losing eighty of their own force. "These Dyaks," concludes the report, "came from SEREBAS, a locality north of Sambas, only accessible to the small light vessels of the Dyaks, of slender form. In their voyages they burn and massacre along the shores all that is within their reach. As trophies they carry off the skulls of the victims of their ferocity." So that here

* M. De Groot's compilation, entitled, "Paper relating to the Piracies committed in the Indian Archipelago," is a remarkable comment on Mr. Hume's observation that "there may be some pirates, but they are few." It fills sixty folio pages, and records, on an average, ten outrages per page, including every kind of attack on every kind of vessel, with all the incidents of massacre, burning, slavery, &c., and yet it is chiefly confined to such as have affected the Dutch commerce, and to the measures taken by the Netherland Government for the suppression of piracy.

we have specific acts of "daring" outrage on European vessels of war, brought home to the Dyaks of Serebas ; we have "their voyages," mentioned, as one refers to common occurrences ; we have their atrocious habits *above* those of other pirates ; we have their boats described as exactly of that kind in which Mr. Hume protests they could *not* practise piracy.

And not only do we see that "square-rigged" vessels *have* been attacked by SERERAS pirates, but it is probable there have been numerous instances ; for, besides the actual or presumptive proofs already adduced, there are, in De Groot's report, abundant records of such outrages by pirates of BORNEO : and we may fairly reason that those pirates of Borneo, who have been the least watched or controlled, are likely to have been the most mischievous ; and no part of the island has been so incompletely or so irregularly protected as that north-west coast which, having depended on the guardianship of England, has been consigned considerably to the mercies of the Serebas.

But whatever *has* been the number of their outrages on European vessels, a word will explain why they have not been more. The trade of the Indian Archipelago is not carried on principally in square-rigged, but in native craft. I have now before me the return from Singapore for the year 1849, ending just previously to the destruction of the Serebas fleet : it shows a proportion of four native vessels to one European, engaged in the trade to that

port alone ; and it is not less in other directions. The native prahus accordingly offer fourfold opportunity, not to mention the diminished risk to pirates. There has, however, started into life, since Captain Farquhar's chastisement of these hordes, such an accession of trade to Sincapore in native vessels from Sarawak alone, as must have greatly increased this proportion,—a fact which might alone make clear to any unprejudiced person what has been the sinister influence hitherto crippling and depressing it.

I will here bestow one word on an argument of Mr. Hume, founded on the *lightness* of the *Dyak boats* :—

“ From the class of boats used by them, it is impossible they can be pirates.”

It should be borne in mind that, during the prevalence of the southerly monsoon, the sea is always calm and smooth on the north side of Borneo (and *vice versa*). This, therefore, is the season of activity both for the trader and his spoiler. As regularly as the one ventures out with his cargo, he finds the other waiting to disencumber him of cargo, liberty, and, if it suit him, life.

Nothing but forgetfulness or ignorance of the nature of the monsoons, and of their effect on the seas subject to their influence, could suggest a doubt as to the possibility of pirates using light and slightly-built boats at these particular seasons. I have stated before of the Serebas pirates that they go out either in the Malay war-prahu, which is as formidable as a Lanun's, or in the Dyak bang-

kong, according to the object of the expedition, or to their expectation of meeting an enemy : but "the *smaller* the vessel," says *Captain Kloff*, "the quicker its progress ; for this reason in these expeditions, for which the pirates have collected together a great number of vessels, they leave the larger ones behind some island, reserving them for the purpose of covering a more important attack, while they proceed on their piratical projects with the smaller craft."

Captain Kloff is a Dutch officer who was employed in the Eastern Seas, to collect for his Government "all the details that could be obtained respecting piracy." The reader will decide which is the best authority on pirates' boats.

I find myself following up this subject more particularly than I at first intended : but it cannot have lost its general interest ; for it involves no mere insignificant squabble, although much personality has been on one side resorted to.

I hold the question to be this,—whether individual spleen and rancour, having succeeded in mystifying a handful of public men—not all disposed nor all qualified, as their speeches show, to form an unprejudiced opinion for themselves—shall be permitted, through these parliamentary auxiliaries, to harass an eminent servant of his Sovereign ; one who, by a chain of singular events such as is witnessed only once in many generations, has acquired the power, and is blest also with the will, to

shed an enduring lustre on the country of his birth. But for this end, he must take home to the land of his adoption a feeling that he is confided in and co-operated with, as a man single in purpose, strong in desire, as in power, for good.

In that case even we, his cotemporaries, may live to see radiating from the scene of his remarkable career, as from a splendid centre, bright rays of freedom, of social and commercial intercourse, and, above all, of pure and practical Christianity, which shall eclipse the splendour of the warrior, by humanising the barbarism which *he* perpetuates.

The feelings which were uppermost with my friend Brooke on first visiting these shores have stolen, as it were, without any parade of his before the public eye—first, I am happy to say, through my own appreciation of them,—they are embodied in some lines which the reader will thank me for recalling to his memory, and to which he may give the best practical response by his support of the Bornean mission:—

“Beautiful land ! upon so pure a plain
Shall Superstition hold her hated reign ?
Must Bigotry build up her cheerless shrine
In such an air, on such an earth as thine ?
Alas ! Religion from thy placid isles
Veils the warm splendour of her heav’ly smiles,
And the rapt gazer in the beauteous plan
Sees nothing dark except the soul of man.” *

Can any hereafter sympathise with those who would

* Praed.

fain cripple his energies in a sublime, yet eminently practical sphere of usefulness,—with those who, of mere malice, would misrepresent pure motives, falsely characterise a well-directed enthusiasm, and throw back upon itself every patriotic purpose, mortified by suspicion, and frustrated through mistrust?

I doubt whether, for a renewed persecution, all England will muster so many as the last Parliamentary nineteen; but however this may be, my friend may comfort himself with the consideration that “Vermin do ever devour the purest corn; and moths eat into the finest cloth; and the cantharides blast the sweetest flowers; and the vulture draweth sickness from a perfume.”

We have as yet heard only two of Mr. Hume’s witnesses to the truth; but they are of such a different stamp from those who are to follow that they shall have this chapter to themselves.

CHAPTER XII.

REPLY TO MR. HUME CONTINUED—HIS CAPTAINS—HIS “GENTLEMAN”—HIS
“MERCHANTS”—HIS PROMPTERS—HIMSELF.

In commenting on the light which Mr. Earl and *Mr.* Brooke have thrown upon the character of the Serebas and Sakarrans, I have necessarily made many observations which will apply with equal force to Mr. Hume's further “evidence.” Still, his witnesses are worth hearing ; or rather, it is worth while to hear from themselves how little such a set were worth the labour of bringing together, to waste a night's debate for the Commons of England, to expose themselves to contempt, and those who brought them at least to ridicule. Two years of that industry for which Mr. Hume is remarkable were occupied in getting up his strength for this debate : frequent references were, I believe, made by or for him to Singapore and Borneo ; and when at last, on the 10th of July 1851, he opens his battery, we may with a natural curiosity scrutinise every gun, which it took years to bring into play, and minutes to silence.

"At last" exclaimed the honourable gentleman, "an opportunity was afforded him," &c. Let us see what reason he had to exult in the opportunity. Certainly we have now the issue to judge from. We have seen his

"Telum imbelli, sine ictu,"

His strengthless weapon fall without a stroke;

but let us see what he owes to those who furnished it; who sent him with armour that he had not proved, to face on the Parliamentary battle-field the giant TRUTH.

With regard to the witnesses whom we have cross-examined, Mr. Earl and Mr. Brooke, it is most desirable for Mr. Hume's credit to think that he had never read the works from which he quotes so partially, that he had trusted for a supply of fair arguments to those who had first set him up as their senatorial *Thersites*, and then deceived him. It will be observed that I distinguish between *Sir James* and *Mr. Brooke*; allowing "honorable gentlemen" to reject him as unworthy of credit, ever since his Sovereign marked him as a *good* subject, and selected him as a trustworthy representative. As *Mr. Brooke*, he is only the private traveller, journalising his progress as the custom is;—and, as such, *credited and quoted by Mr. Hume himself*, honours not then having made him dishonourable, general admiration not having made him an impostor, the confidence of the great and the good not having worked him up to his present unworthiness in the eyes of—I am ashamed, I hesitate to

say—of Mr. Hume. It would be much pleasanter to think,—I try to think,—that my Lord Palmerston was right in his opinion, that “the honorable gentleman had sufficient natural candour not to feel so confident as hitherto as to the soundness of his conclusions.” But why not *then* throw it up with a good grace? surveying his dependances, he might candidly have exclaimed,

“Oh Jove! I think foundations fly the wretched ;”

and might have beat that honourable retreat, which is only inferior to a victory. Why, above all, reiterate to the present moment the worst things he has ever said, repudiating the friendly extenuations of those who would fain think better things of him, and compelling the once attacked to go still armed, as being still before an enemy?

I proceed then to examine in all good humour a set of letters and documents too ridiculous for anger, and almost for argument. They were, however, as the world knows, gravely brought out, read, commented on, not only by Mr. Hume, but by those who followed on his side; and they were by them considered to have proved beyond controversy a point, which I wish I could lay down in some new shape,—that Sir James Brooke had massacred 1500 or 2000 innocents—the Serebas and Sakarrans *not being pirates*.

There is one special reason for giving these witnesses a candid hearing, viz., that *their* “evidence” comes up to the latest date before the destruction of the fleet: the

"alleged" pirates might have reformed within eight or ten years. True, Sir James Brooke still maintains that they were, in 1849, quite as villainous as before. So say I: so says Captain Farquhar: so say a cloud of witnesses—whom, however, Mr. Hume's captains are to put to flight.

Mr. Cobden shall introduce them, in the terms he used, after hearing Mr. Hume's opening speech:—"My honourable friend has brought forward in evidence *five letters written by naval commanders* stationed upon the very coast; and he pledged himself to bring *them* forward to give evidence, if this inquiry should be granted."

Five naval commanders, *each* the writer of a letter "from the very coast" of Borneo.

"There is, first," continues Mr. Cobden, "Captain Daniell, of the Indian Navy: then there is Captain Young, of the Indian Navy: then there are *two other* letters from captains in the Navy. One of *them* had been sixteen months stationed on the coast of Borneo: the *other* had been stationed at Labuan."

I conclude that the fifth Captain referred to is my friend, Captain Hastings, whose letter to Mr. Hume shall have its turn. This leaves us four to dispose of now. Mr. Hume's account of these four letters is substantially the same as Mr. Cobden's: there can be no mistake about what he meant the House of Commons to believe.

The answer that awaits these vaunted letters is unpleasant. They were *not* written by *four* officers, but

by *two* ; and Mr. Hume knew this at the time ! Whether Mr. Cobden knew it also we need not decide. He must choose between assisting to mislead, or being himself misled, by a statement of which he made strong use in debate, but which was wholly inconsistent with the naked truth. The *truth* is this : that each of these two "captains of the Indian Navy," by a coincidence which points to some *one* suggestive agency, addressed to Mr. Hume, or for his use, *two* letters ; one authenticated, but carefully telling him nothing ; the other unauthenticated, and, therefore, after the manner of anonymous writers, much more venturesome. I may observe at once that Mr. Hume has lately confessed this to have been so in the case of Captain Young :—that the officer who "does not feel justified in giving an opinion," and the "officer" who gives a very free opinion, are *one and the same* ! Such a mode of multiplying witnesses is decidedly more ingenious than ingenuous. But I have not seen the same admission as to the letters of Captain Daniell. I shall be happy to give Mr. Hume my reasons publicly for assigning in like manner *two* of the letters to *that* officer's pen : and of the trick thus repeated one can but say that it is only half as ingenious the second time, and doubly disingenuous.

And now let us see what they contain.

What particular inquiries Mr. Hume addressed to Captain Young can only be surmised from his reply. He seems to have worked himself up into a fear that a piratical balla, *if* there *be* such a monster, would some

day make its appearance off the Norfolk coast, and send a detachment head-hunting to "Burnley Hall." So his question was not simply, "Are the Serebas pirates?" but, "Are they enemies of this great and happy land?"

Captain Daniell's reply is enough to re-assure England through its length and breadth:—"I conclude that the enemies of the Sarawak tribe are not pirates, *nor* enemies of this great and happy land." And his authority for this conclusion must set the matter at rest. "A merchant" told him so; and told him, in proof thereof, that "small coasting-vessels under the English flag had been in the habit of trading to and from Bruni for the last twenty-five years, and that *they* had never been molested." He, Captain Daniell, also "learnt that the Dyaks in question were not noted and desperate pirates, but *merely* enemies of the Sarawak tribe, from time immemorial." Lastly, though stationed sixteen months on the coast of Borneo, "he never saw nor heard of a pirate, which greatly disappointed him; as he was led to suppose the coast abounded with them."

These "conclusions" Mr. Hume's "officer" contributes anonymously; but, as Captain Daniell, late of the steam-frigate *Semiramis*, on the Bornean coast, he is short and simple: "he never fell in with a pirate, nor ever heard of the Dyaks in question having molested an English or foreign vessel."

Going back, however, to what he has said, "on the other side of his mouth," let me, in reply, ask Captain

Daniell, or his "merchant" friend, whether they deny that there are tigers at Singapore? They eat up Chinamen at the rate of one per diem: yet, inasmuch as none come home to *say* they are eaten up, and inasmuch as many still go to and fro uneaten, is it *therefore* that there are no tigers in the jungles of Singapore? Trading prahus *have* passed unmolested, just as Chinamen have walked uneaten: but the point is (as proved by the immediate result of the action of 1849) that ten times so many would have passed, had there been no pirates: and who can tell how many have *disappeared* under a system which applies fire and sword to obliterate all traces of its atrocities? The intercepted prahu merely never reaches Borneo, or never arrives at Singapore; and there is an end of it. But if Captain Daniell's "merchant" meant to tell him that, for twenty-five years, he—being in the way of hearing—had not heard of any small coasting-vessel being molested by pirates, I must now merely refer him to the preceding chapter, wishing his memory and his conscience much good therefrom. But again, if there be some quibble in reserve about "the English flag," he will learn, as he reads on, that, in the judgment of some as learned in definitions as himself, the "flag" attacked makes no more difference than the "rig."

It has been strongly asserted in Parliament, probably on this authority,—an anonymous officer quoting an anonymous merchant,—that these desperate hordes of enemies to the world at large are "merely immemorial enemies of the Sarawak tribe." Nothing can be more

false. There are, besides the Sarawak, about *forty* communities on the coast of Borneo, *all* living at peace with each other, *all* continually invaded, plundered, massacred by the Serebas and Sakarrans. They are at like enmity with the Netherland Government, which has often appealed to us to carry out our treaties, by which we are *bound*, though it clash with Captain Daniell's "conclusion," to treat as "enemies of this great and happy land" a people, who *profess* to "make no difference, when at sea, but to rob and murder all alike."

Finally, I can introduce Mr. Hume to a gentleman who has often heard Captain Daniell express a hope that he might be sent against these very pirates!

In Captain Young's communications, as in Captain Daniell's, a wonderful difference between the responsible and the irresponsible is seen. We have first a modest little billet to the effect that, "as a Government servant, he does not feel himself justified in giving an opinion on the affair in question." This note has the ornament of his name: but as he gets behind his screen he becomes more oracular, and recounts that, "having been stationed at Labuan for the protection of that island," (against *whom?*) "and having made three trips" (whither?) "in his steam-frigate, and one flying visit to Sarawak without seeing pirates, he *opines* that the Malays in that neighbourhood are not given to piracy, *as understood by Englishmen*,"—he adds that "no person seeing their prahus could have any great *dread* of them as *sca-pirates*: that small vessels run between Singapore and Borneo,

without dreading them,"—and finally that he, the said Captain, made one such voyage, and now lives to tell it. He adds, however, "to be sure *this was in the bad season* when *their* prahus do not venture out."

Surely here is something of an admission that they are *reputed* pirates, who *have* a "season" for showing themselves. But to be seen by armed frigates is not their way of doing business. "They fear extremely," says Captain Kloff, "the armed ships of the Government:" and another European, one Alexander Bross, who had been compelled as a captive to serve in a pirate fleet, describes their general habit:—"We had orders to go and cruise to await merchant-vessels. We had been four days in ambush, when we perceived the *Siewa*, man-of-war, of the Colonial Navy. We concealed ourselves immediately behind some islands. But *when the danger was passed*, we resumed our station, and captured a prahu laden with rice." Thus it is that they go sneaking about in "bawbling vessels,"

" For shallow draft, and bulk, unprizable,"

and surely Captain Young could not have expected to see such gentry unless he had been employed to look for them. Occasionally, indeed, some CONRAD or LARA of the Archipelago gives a gallant captain an opportunity to enact the Duke ORSINO :—

" Notable pirate! thou salt-water thief!
What foolish boldness brought thee to *their* mercies,
Whom thou, in terms so bloody and so dear,
Hast made thine enemies!"

Such a mischance befell the pirate fleet—190 sail—in which the before-mentioned Alexander Bross was serving. "One day we perceived an European vessel, which we took for a merchant vessel, because it was painted of a brown-grey, while men-of-war are generally black ; we therefore made all sail for our prey. We soon, however, perceived that it was a man-of-war that we had to do with. The two first discharges from the brig damaged several prahus, and killed a great many pirates ; a second broadside sunk three prahus, with every soul that they contained. Flight became necessary," &c.

There are no records of any censure passed upon the captain of the *Meermin*, for not catching his friends for trial, instead of sinking them.

"Moving, the monarch of a peopled deck," in his steam-frigate, *Auckland*, Captain Young of course would see nothing to "dread" in a pirate's prahu. Yet, when crossing to Singapore in only a trading prahu, he seems to have appreciated the advantage of pirates not being in "season."

But again, "No one," says the captain, "who had *seen* them, could have any great dread of them as *sea-pirates*." That also is possible. The pirate affects not dreadful looks. Such as he was to look at, such as was his prahu in the earliest times, such are they now ; low, deckless, unostentatious, they are described by Thucydides to have been in Homer's days.

But what does this officer mean by a "sea-pirate?"

and "the sense generally taken of that term by Englishmen?" Is it a mere quibble upon the fact that "the Dyaks in question" live, when out of season, up the *rivers*? And *how far* must they "venture out"—which he is aware they do—before they entitle themselves to "the term as understood by Englishmen?"—for they have been caught *hundreds of miles* from their rivers by sea; at Slaku, at Sambas, at Pontiana, at Celebes.

Let us, however, finally *ask* some Englishman how he understands the term: and, by way of a change from Mr. Hume's "concluding" and "opining" captains, suppose we ask Sir Stephen Lushington.

There are two points laid down with equal clearness by that eminent judge.

The first is one to which I directed, by anticipation, Captain Daniell's attention. It is—that a pirate, to be a pirate, need not attack any particular *flag*.

The second is—that he may be a real "sea-pirate," under various circumstances.

"It weighs less than nothing with me," observes this high authority, "to say that they were incapable of distinguishing the British flag, and that if they had known it they would not have attacked it: because, if they were prepared and ready to commence an attack on *any other persons*, it shows that they were of a piratical character." * * * It can make no difference whether they were inhabitants of that or any other island. *Nor is it to be supposed that the name of pirate does not attach to persons*

on shore, but merely to persons at sea, who *must have some residence on shore*. * * * In these seas (the Bornean) there is every species of distinction to be found. There are persons who carry on the business of pirates, and whose sole occupation is piracy; there are others who resort to it only at particular periods; and there are persons who, only at certain opportunities, show a disregard of all rights, and avail themselves of circumstances to commit piracy. Every one of these cases must depend on its own merits, and on the locality where the transaction took place."

I would just remark, in taking leave of Captain Young, that, while *he* never heard at Labuan of the Serebas pirates, Mr. Hume's next witness admits that "the expedition against them was long talked of there;" and my friend, Lieutenant Hosken R.N., whose word at all times is a guarantee for the truth, attests that there was no more common topic at Labuan, than the outrages of the SEREBAS pirates.

From the two double-barrelled captains of the Indian Navy, whose "evidence" is little worth the tricks it cost to manufacture it, we come to

4. "A communication from a *gentleman* twenty-eight years resident at Sincapore."

"William Henry Miles," is now, and has been for some years, this gentleman's name. Seven years—not twenty-eight—*he* says that he has lived at Sincapore: but this is an immaterial point. Two years at Labuan. The first

light that was thrown upon *his* communication in the House of Commons exposed it as a kind of forgery. It was “cooked”—and so badly, that none could swallow it.

Mr. Miles, however, if he did not serve up the dish—for it is garnished with scholarship above his mark,—yet found the ingredients for the cook, and he must be considered accordingly: but the letter is long and would be tedious here.

Mr. Miles’s qualification to give “information on this subject” (Serebas piracy) is, that he had worked a coal-mine at Labuan.

By way of introduction to Captain Farquhar’s “piratical expedition,” he says he “will offer some remarks on the Malays from Pontiana to Maludu Bay;” that is, he will commence 300 miles on one side of the Serebas, and end 500 miles on the other side. This promises a comprehensive view.

What came over him just here is not disclosed; but not another word do we hear either of Pontiana, or Maludu Bay, or of the intervening country. Mr. Miles simply narrates that while he worked the coal-mine at Labuan he kept his little household gods at Victoria Bay, where “nothing was ever stolen,” not even an old pair of hand-cuffs, nor a boxing-glove. The Malays were very honest; very civil to Mrs. W. H. M. He would as soon trade on the Bornean as on the English coast.

Mr. Miles next adds, as relevant to “this subject,” that a young man named Burns lived with the Malays three

months on the Bintulu river, whence he was brought back to Labuan by Governor Brooke.*

Such being the whole substance of Mr. Miles's communication, his conclusion is,—that the *Serebas people were massacred by Governor Brooke*, “who wants to *murder them into subjection* to the Sarawak Government.”

Mr. Miles complacently ends, “There can be only one opinion about this with any one acquainted with Sir James Brooke.”

And as to “the piracy question.” Mr. William Henry Miles does not believe *one iota* about it,—a classical expression much used by Mr. Hume himself.

Surely these two individuals reflect disgrace upon each other. Who can touch pitch and not be defiled? What could Mr. Hume expect to gain by bringing forward this concoction of ignorance and malevolence? What can his Labuan jackal gain by such an ill-judged re-introduction of him on his native soil? *Peter Lloyd* and *his* early “misfortunes” are brought afresh to light, when they might have remained hidden in the Labuan coal-mine, while his hands might have been supposed clean, except from soot.

“A discreditable affair is it, from first to last,” observed Mr. H. Drummond in the House of Commons; and the gentlemen of England echoed him.

That the dish we have just discussed *had* been, as

* I may as well mention here that Mr. Burns, who was an obscure adventurer, passed himself off among the Kayans as the son of Sir James Brooke, and thereby obtained in marriage a daughter of one of the chiefs. The particulars of his murder by pirates of Maludu Bay, are given in Chapter xvii.

Mr. Drummond said, "cooked" by an over-experienced *artiste*, will be evident if we taste the same animal, served up by that gentleman *au naturel*. The following is a *genuine* letter addressed by him to the Sultan of Bruné. It was amusingly exhibited to the House of Commons,—headed with a vignette view of the Horse Guards:—

" MY DEAR SULTAN,

" Alth in London 1600 miles awhay from you I do not forget you and Borneo and when I come back to Singapore I shall come and see you I have told all my friends in London what nice old Gentleman you are and are much pleased with the account of Borneo and the plesent life the Malays lead the Queen had A little boy the other day I should not be surprized if it is not called The Sultan I must buy some little present in London for the Sultan Before I levee Mrs Miles and all Her friends sends their Kind Complements to the Sultan tender my respects to Pengaren Molinean and Pengaren Maccootar and all the other Pengarens and nobles of Brunie.

" Oping this will find you all well believe me

" Dear Sultan yours Respectfully

" WILLIAM HENRY MILES,

" LONDON, 24th May, 1840.

" LATE PENGAREN MILES LABUAN.

" P.S. This is the Queens Birthday I drank your and Her very Good Health in A bumper and wished you might live A hundred years."

"There is no slander in an allowed fool, though he do nothing but rail." So we may leave Pengaren Miles Labuan to his Spelling-book, and his admirers to the consideration of some sensible remarks by Mr. Drummond, which are very applicable to his case.

"There was, he knew, a mock patriotism which thought that it was always doing the public a service by finding fault with people in office, and particularly with those in distant settlements; whereas it was to official men in distant settlements that they ought to be more than ordinarily ready to extend their protection. The House should remember the many worthless adventurers who went out from this country to those settlements, for the purpose of repairing their broken fortunes and character, and with whom official men were necessarily thrown into contact; and how any mark of just severity which might be measured out to those characters was sure to furnish abundant opportunity for slander."

Let us hasten on.

5. "He," Mr. Hume, "would next call the attention of the House to a document signed by FIFTY-THREE MERCHANTS of Singapore."

This document occupies a column of *Hansard*. It may be read in the Appendix. Fifty-three *merchants* ought to settle *any* question of doubt that ever arose within a merchant's province. *Twelve* merchants of London or Liverpool constitute such a jury as often deals with princely interests. If these fifty-three have failed to bear

Mr. Hume into port, there *must* be something rotten in their argosies.

“A merchant,” like “a pirate,” must be defined. In England, the term bespeaks position, and respectability. Not so, necessarily, in the East. The old men at the corner of our streets, with whom ragged urchins lay out their halfpence, might style themselves hot-potato and roasted-apple “merchants,” at Singapore. Anybody who does anything in the way of business, if he can but write his name, is a “merchant;” and especially when an address is getting up by agitators of elastic conscience, content to procure an array of demonstrators numerous, if not select.

“I do follow here in the chase not like a hound that hunts, but one that fills up the cry.”—Both the constitution and the number of Mr. Hume’s Singapore pack calls this to mind.

As regards, however, the real mercantile community of Singapore, it is nowhere surpassed in respectability. To many of its members I am personally indebted for friendship and hospitality, which I have pleasure in acknowledging—

“Many a courtesy
That sought no recompence and met with none,
But in the swell of heart with which it came,
Have I experienced.”

at Singapore; and, simply from my own knowledge of them, I could have confidently denied that the address which Mr. Hume displays, is signed by *many* members

of what any one else would call the "mercantile" body of Singapore; but to this day *he* continues so to style them, and to boast of them as a conclusive band. We must therefore hear what they have to say, so far as this document advances anything which is not already replied to.

Its distinguishing feature is unscrupulousness. It is evidently Mr. Hume's great gun—kept for the last—"Up merchants, and at 'em." And they do rush incontinently both at the Rajah and myself. Disagreeing on one point with their employer, these gentlemen assign to *me* the honour of having first made known to the world these Serebas and Sakarrans pirates. They *had* heard of the Lanuns, the Sooloos, the Balaninis; but *never* of the Serebas and Sakarrans, "until the invasion of their country by Captain the Hon. H. Keppel, in H.M.S. *Dido*, a measure commented on by many at the time as unjustifiable."

For myself—I of course can only reply to this as Captain Hastings presently does to Mr. Hume—"My conduct has been brought under the notice of my superiors, and by them approved of." Nor let it be thought that approval extends only to the *manner of carrying out* operations. The Judge of the Court of Admiralty has, up to this time, had to investigate and pronounce upon all cases of piracy; and it was decreed by Sir Stephen Lushington, whose rule, "to decide every such case on its particular merits," I have already cited—it was by him decreed that the Serebas and Sakarrans, chastised by the

Dido, were as genuine pirates as the Lamuns, the Sooloos, or the Balaninis. Where, unless in the free market of Sincapore, and for what purposes, do these pirates buy their arms and ammunition?—their muskets and their tons of gunpowder, which we found just in the state in which it had left the manufactory at Dartford?

But these respectable people, by a blunder not uncommon with their kind, go on to prove too much. They consider that they have not been got together to stick at trifles. “Not one among us ever heard the captain of a merchant vessel, or the nakoda of a trading prahu mention having seen a Dyak pirate, although the *novelty* of such prahus must have attracted attention.”

I have abstained from cumbering these pages with hard Malay names and formal depositions, preferring to place evidence of that kind in an appendix. But I must here produce one sample of what might be had in any quantity. The fifty-three merchants who testify as above, and the nakoda who testifies as follows, alike send their evidence from Sincapore.

A nakoda is a master or captain of a native-trading prahu. Nakoda Dowlich *logquitur*:—“I have been six times to Sincapore for commercial purposes. I arrived here this morning from Oyak, three days’ sail from Sarawak. My boat is of seventy-five tons burthen, with thirty-four men and three guns. The coast of Borneo is infested with pirates, and has been so for years. *I have been chased by pirates.* They are princi-

pally LANUNS and DYAKS. The Dyaks of SAKARRAN are pirates, and commit ravages along the coast : the Dyaks of SEREBAS are notorious pirates."

The above statement was taken, and that of another nakoda, to the same effect, by Colonel Butterworth, Governor of the Malacca Straits Settlements, for the information of the Indian Government.

"In the absence," he says, "of any evidence from Captain Keppel, regarding the piratical propensities of the chieftains he attacked, Sheriff Sahibe and Sheriff Mulah, I deemed it advisable to take the depositions of the nakodas of two vessels from Borneo, now lying in the Singapore roads. These will distinctly show that these chieftains are, and have long been the main instigators, and not unfrequently the principal actors, in the piratical cruelties and robberies committed between these settlements and Borneo."

What becomes then of the fifty-three "merchants of Singapore" to whom all these things are strange ? *

The number of mercantile firms in Singapore is about twenty-seven ; Mr. Hume stated it to be exactly so. "Out of twenty-seven houses," he says, "fourteen signed an address to Sir James Brooke, and thirteen did not." † The first number is correct ; the other is incorrect.

* One example will show that collectors of signatures may go a little too far. Among those who *never heard of* Serebas pirates is a "master mariner, for three years in command of the *Julia*, belonging to Sir James Brooke!"

† In *Hansard* he is made to call this an address from "some place in Borneo." But it must be a mistake of the reporter. In the "Times," it is Singapore.

This address may be found in the Appendix, and in the Parliamentary Papers.

The address from Singapore to Sir James Brooke bears *twenty-two signatures*,—being those of the representatives of **EVERY MERCANTILE FIRM established at Singapore except**, perhaps *three*, and *it* was not extended to the respectable class of natives. If I were not hastening to conclude this Chapter I would set it forth, as a most satisfactory and conclusive document ;—recognising, on such unquestionable authority, the necessity which exists for suppressing Bornean piracy—the propriety of the measures adopted—the humanity and mildness which accompanied their carrying out.

Sir James Brooke received an address of similar import from Batavia ; but “coming in at the last hour,” says Mr. Hume, “it had the appearance of being prepared for the occasion !” How then was Mr. Hume’s prepared ? I believe that an analysis of the list of signatures would give three or four merchants (whose presence need not be here accounted for), and the remainder is made up of a heterogeneous crowd, of whom I may safely say that they are not what Mr. Hume would have his hearers suppose. Common sense goes with us as we compare these rival documents, certifying that the one is true and genuine, while the other reads like an incorporation of such hoaxes as humorous captains and nakodas would pass upon busy-bodies foraging for calumny.

The letter which *I* received in 1843 from the Rajah Muda Hassim, will not here be out of place. It is

mentioned in my "Expedition to Borneo," with a reference to the ceremonious reception of a Letter of State.

" This friendly epistle, having its source in a pure mind, comes from Rajah Muda Hassim, next in succession to the royal throne of the kingdom of Borneo, and who now holds his Court at the trading city of Sarawak, to our friend Henry Keppel, head Captain of the war-frigate belonging to Her Britannic Majesty, renowned throughout all countries,—who is valiant and discreet, and endowed with a mild and gentle nature.

" This is to inform our friend that there are certain great pirates of SEREBAS and SAKARRAN in our neighbourhood, seizing goods, and murdering people on the high seas. They have more than three hundred war-prahus, and extend their ravages even to Bangermassim. They take much plunder from vessels trading between Singapore and the good people of our country. It would be a great service if our friend would adopt measures to put an end to these piratical outrages. We can present nothing better to our friend than a kris, such as it is."

I did adopt the measures recorded in the above-named work; measures honoured by the approbation of the Government—by the disapprobation of Mr. Hume—by the "comments" of these memorialists of Singapore, who cannot, I think, have studied what they signed.

6. The last in Mr. Hume's array is my friend, the Hon. Captain Hastings, in connection with whose name he has made the most of a circumstance, which had no bearing

whatever upon the matter in debate. Mr. Hume had "addressed some inquiries to this gallant officer, accompanied with an intimation that he was about to move for inquiry into Sir James Brooke's conduct, on the 21st July, 1849. He asks Captain Hastings, as we gather from *his* reply, why he had refused compliance with Sir James Brooke's request, "on the occasion referred to in the enclosed." These allusions are obscure, and seem to have been intentionally left so, to mystify those who might not be aware of certain facts : Captain Hastings replies that "his superiors having approved of his conduct, he is precluded from offering Mr. Hume any statement of the matter."

We have no date given us of the "occasion referred to ;" but the date of his own inquiry is carefully given, February 14, 1851,—of course eighteen months later than Captain Farquhar's action. Mr. Hume's comment is this. "If Captain Hastings, being called upon to assist Sir James Brooke against these pirates—for this is the *fact* referred to—and *refusing* to do so, was approved of by his superiors, why did they *also* approve the conduct of *Captain Farquhar* in *rendering* aid to Sir James Brooke?" The argument sounds better than many of Mr. Hume's, and I have met with those who gave it weight ; until a slight explanation followed which was not likely to come out in the debate, and would be too late the day after, as to any effect on members' opinions *then*. What *is* this explanation ? Merely, that the occasion on which

Captain Hastings refused to assist Sir James Brooke against a fleet of pirates, far from being the same occasion on which Captain Farquhar did assist him ;—was *five years previous* to it ! and Mr. Hume must have learned from my “Expedition to Borneo,” the reason which constrained Captain Hastings to decline this operation—his disappointment at being so constrained—and the fact that *I* very shortly after, not being under similar difficulty, did attack the very pirates whom he was forced to leave, and had the honour of being approved of by my superiors ;—and they were the same individuals who approved of my gallant friend’s refusal. I say that Mr. Hume must have learned this from my “Expedition to Borneo ;” because, if he have truly “given great attention to this subject,” he cannot have been deterred by any defects of style, from seeking information in a work which was the first that appeared on Bornean subjects, and which abounds in stubborn facts on piracy, such as even *I* was qualified to record. He will have read in that work, vol. ii. p. 81, a letter from Sir James Brooke to myself, dated 26th May, 1844.

It states that H. M. S. *Harlequin*, commanded by Captain Hastings—had lately appeared off the coast, just as the notorious pirate Seriff Sahib had collected, for one of their harmless regattas, a fleet of 200 Dyak boats and fifteen or twenty armed Malay prahus ; “and,” adds the Rajah, “we might have had them all.” In the next page, Mr. Hume will have read, “No one could have been

more disappointed, or could have regretted more than my gallant friend Captain Hastings, that *his orders did not admit of any delay*, or of his attacking that redoubtable pirate, Sheriff Sahib." He was under orders for England.

"Good reason must of force give way to better."

But in less than three months after this, the *Dido* took up the work against *these* pirates, and her work was approved of. Mr. Hume ignores these facts ; he brings five years forwarder one solitary circumstance, and thus dishonours my honourable and gallant friend, by parading him as a witness on his side. Is it possible to suppose that Mr. Hume wished the facts to be understood as they occurred ? I think not : first, because he might easily have stated them unmistakeably : secondly, because, so stated, they would have made an argument too ridiculous even for *him*.

Captain Hastings, to his honour, immediately after Mr. Hume's application to him, offered Sir James Brooke his best assistance "to resist the cruel and unjust persecution waging against him."

"PERSECUTION" has been the term applied to these proceedings by some of the most distinguished personages in the land : and their opinion has its echo in the public voice. Whence then does it arise ? what motives actuate it ? what are the hidden springs that *keep* it going ? Who annually winds up this one night's tediousness ? Some who know Mr. Hume speak of him as a "good-

natured man." It may be so ; indiscriminate good-nature gets into many scrapes. No kinder suggestion, however, could be made for him than Mr. Drummond's—viz. that, although deprecating the idea of being the tool of others, he *is* their tool without suspecting it : but surely it would be equally good-natured to play at marbles with his grandchildren ; and his best friends would look on with greater pleasure, than while he exhibits himself as a foot-ball for the *ill*-natured and the mischievous to kick at decent people's heads. The honourable gentleman must, however, rather be classed, *I* think, with the agatho-caco-physical,—the good-and-evil-natured, both at once : amiable at Burnley hall, inclined to tease at Westminster (nor hesitating occasionally—perhaps after a bad day's sport, to send a malicious shot even from his country play-ground).

This is the convenient moral liberty advocated by Mr. Hume himself. Sir James Brooke is with *him* politically a delinquent, but privately, perhaps, a Christian gentleman.

There *is* a "reform" gaining ground which repudiates *these* niceties of an almost bygone time ; the urbanity of the urbane, and the honesty of the honest, and the Christianity of the Christian, are looked for now *in* as well as *out of* those august assemblies, which affect to give a tone to all society, and in which, as a prelude to their deliberations, the Speaker is announced to be "at prayers." My friend Sir James Brooke, for one, declines

any acquittal placed on *this* foundation. "I despise," he has lately told Mr. Hume, "the refinements of the politician who would separate the public from the private character of a gentleman."

It will be well if Mr. Hume will show himself what he perhaps really is; if he will shake off the appearance—unfortunate for an amiable man—of indulging in hostility which he personally disclaims. That Sir James Brooke has some few enemies is evident: his public friends have plainly pointed out both men and motives; even now Mr. Hume argues from documents confessedly supplied by *them*. Patriotism should shun *suspicion*: the clean should not be found with the unclean, unless they would be thought to have lost their nobler natures, and to be content, though eagles born, to feed on carrion.

I would fain adopt in Mr. Hume's behalf any stretch of charity,—any strain of construction,—any metamorphosis of words, which would free him from the imputation of employing his waning talents, and the evening of his days, in vitiating the truth that he may crush the good. His only escape is offered him by Mr. Drummond. If *I* be asked who pulls the wires for his anniversary exhibition in July, I will only say I am not called upon to grope for them; nor should *I* think it necessary, since Mr. Hume disowns such influences, to force to the light any one, who, whatever may be his moral or his social errors, has the taste, the discretion, or the luck to walk in the darkness which becomes his

deeds. But if there be those who, while endeavouring to undermine their betters' reputation, court notoriety, and force themselves on fame ; if any thrust slanderous opinions on official personages—stir up pseudo-philanthropic societies—work upon pseudo-Christian meetings—and, after years of approbation, of admiration, of fulsomeness, become suddenly philo-Serebas, philo-Sakarrans, philo-Dyaks, only because they would be miso-Brookes,—these people will assuredly, like owls coming out in the day-time, find *some* to hoot them ; some to remind them that it *does* disgust to see men glory in their shame.

I will simply say, then, that I am of those who incline to believe in the "extenuating circumstance," as the French say,—poor at best—that Mr. Hume had not time to look into this case and to "get up" this argument for himself. We must not allow him to say that it "has occupied much of his attention." I believe, then, that he at first took up a case in which his, perhaps honest, sympathies were engaged by the falsehood and exaggeration of those who wished to stir him up : that he must have trusted to *them* for facts, and for proofs thereof ; and that he was not aware, until too late, of the argumentative frauds and follies which he was doomed to utter. Brooke and Earl mis-quoted—four officers extemporised out of two (then only to talk double nonsense)—a ticket-of-leave "gentleman," from a Labuan coal-mine, with a letter cooked up for him, lest *he* should not devise untruths enough—a "merchants'" memorial with scarcely a

merchant's name—a simple naval occurrence twisted to a false date, and assigned to a supposition cause—such is an imperfect summary of what the member for Montrose has been induced—or seduced—to lay before the British House of Commons, from which they were to consent that my friend should forego the felon's privilege, and submit to be annually put upon trial—not for his life, but for that dearer stake, his honour.

And, to close with a practical question,—What would an inquiry—granted to-morrow—give us? Inevitably one of two results equally unprofitable, to say the least. Either a budget of stale truths, already attested beyond rational doubt, some of which will be found in the Appendix; or a consignment of newly-coined untruths, disgraceful alike to the consignors and to the consignee.

When I consider that I have still one of my proposed points untouched, I feel that I must have heavily taxed my readers' patience. I shall endeavour to make the next Chapter brief and matter-of-fact; and therein to mention as rarely as possible Mr. Hume.

The honourable member for Montrose has been useful to England—very useful in his day; but not by traducing characters: nor is it a reproach to him that his value has been of that particular kind which makes the adjutant-bird sacred in Oriental cities, and the vulture valuable in the desert. His vocation has been to consume whatever savoured of corruption,—a thankless, an unenvied, but still, when pursued in moderation and

sincerity, an eminently patriotic path. A *résumé* of his political career will, doubtless, some day, in its turn, flash from those brilliant biographical laboratories of the "Times," which so marvellously extemporise a tributary torch to light the politician to his tomb. But against his acknowledged political good qualities a discriminating pen *must* find one set-off—that he adopted early the motto of Coriolanus—

"Let it be *virtuous* to be *obstinate*."

and that, whereas the Roman was ashamed of it in a few days, the Saxon stuck to it through life.

Whenever his career shall close, Mr. Hume will doubtless leave behind him a mass of materials for his biographer, which emboldens me to give him one word of parting counsel. *Let* his records testify that he was a HERCULES in the Augean stable of state abuses; that he was the spoiler of rotten boroughs; the terror of sinecurists; the economist of state gunpowder; the save-all of green tape; the unappeasable CERBERUS of the public purse. *But* let him *bury* during his life—to make sure of it—*every paper on Borneo* for which he ever moved, and, on pain of disinheritance to his heir, let him command that they never be exhumed. Then may still some partial Plutarch find him *some* decent parallel, though perhaps not exactly the niche which he ambitioned, as the SOLON or the ARISTIDES of his age. *I* can only name the man with whom he will *not* be paralleled; not with him

to whom is already awarded, with unusual readiness at the hand of Fame, the meed of higher usefulness, of wider philanthropy, of purer principle, of nobler views for the amelioration of his kind.

Already too, by force of the like general, unmistakeable award, that man's unconscientious calumniators, amongst whom I *wish* not to count one British senator, have seen evaporate, as from a well-burnished mirror the cloudy spot, with which they dulled—scarcely for a moment—a character above their comprehension, and which can now be only tarnished by their praise.

CHAPTER XIII.

REPLY TO MR. HUME CONCLUDED—"UNDUE SEVERITY"—DOCUMENTARY REFUTATIONS
—GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON PIRACY AND ITS REMEDIES.

ACCORDING to my plan, proposed in Chapter XI., I am now to show that Mr. Hume's second position is as untenable as his first. It is this: that—

Supposing the Malays and Dyaks of Serebas and Sakarran to be really pirates, still, an unjustifiable loss of life was inflicted on them by the naval force which attacked their fleet on the 21st July, 1849. This I should deny with equal confidence in any shape; but my particular task is to refute the charge. As it has pleased Mr. Hume to lay its supposed odium on Sir James Brooke—sometimes exclusively, sometimes with just that show of dividing his favours, which invites one to contradict him generally as well as particularly.

"Sir James Brooke caused many hundred weak savages to be slaughtered, under the allegation that they were pirates. * * * While Sir James Brooke slaughters

Dyaks in his own immediate neighbourhood in Borneo, he advocates the cause of religion, education, and benevolence in England ; talks of establishing churches and school-houses, of planting missionaries and a bishop at Sarawak."

Supposing them to be pirates ! I think we may "conclude" and "opine" that they are so, and pass to the *unsettled* question at once. If Mr. Hume is not yet convinced, and if he knows any one else who is not, I can only suggest, as a last resort, the fashionable pastime of a *lecture* on piracy.

We have "Journies from Cornhill to Cairo," "Visits to the American Indians," "Walks about Jerusalem," "Ascents of Mont Blanc," and why not "A Voyage up the Serebas," &c., with *tableaux vivans* to match ? and, by way of drawing a house, we might anticipate the "unprecedented attraction" of seeing Mr. Hume convinced, and hearing him confess that he has been mistaken. The illustrations shall be in keeping : guns from the unarmed—poisoned arrows from the inoffensive—models of war-prahus used by peaceful traders—a Dyak skull (I know where there is one) taken from a Sakarran house. I shall be happy, in short, if he will bring his sceptical party to my cottage,—

" Around the fire an evening group to draw,
And tell of *all I felt, and all I saw*"

of PIRACY.

But we must now get on. *Supposing* then, again, that

some one admits enough to give us a second start—next comes the question of “undue severity.”

For the senator who is also the general censor, Mr. Hume allows himself *rather* a wider margin than he allows his victims. What would *he* make of the following sentences, uttered by any other single mouth in one and the same debate?—Opening speech: “I protest against the commission of murders, *fifteen hundred or two thousand* at a time.” Closing speech: “I am convinced of the accuracy of my information that *five hundred* persons have been destroyed as pirates,” &c. Surely a man who had been thus informed, and believed the information to be accurate, need not, at starting on a grave and “blasting” charge, multiply the truth by four.

But he improves even on this: “What shall be said, where men were suspected to be pirates, yet offered no resistance, while *themselves, their wives, and children* were destroyed?”

Surely, the man who goes on thus must have fallen into the error, against which a greater man warns him, of “indulging some weakness in the management of his intellectual faculty, which is prejudicial to him in the search of truth.” * * * “He, whose assent goes beyond his evidence, owes this excess of his adherence only to prejudice.” * * * “Truth is all simple, all pure, will bear no mixture of anything else with it. It is rigid, and inflexible to any bye interests; and so should the understanding be, whose use and excellence lies in conforming

itself to *it*." * * * " Men are apt to excuse themselves, and think they have reason to do so, if they have but a pretence that it is for God or a good cause—though it is, in effect, for themselves, their own persuasion, or party. But God requires not men to wrong or misuse their faculties for him ; nor to lie to others or themselves for his sake—which they purposely do who will not suffer their understandings to have right conceptions of the things proposed to them, and designedly restrain themselves from having just thoughts of everything, as far as they are concerned to inquire. And as for a good cause, that needs not such ill helps ; if it be good, truth will support it, and it has no need of fallacy or falsehood."

These and other wise things are said by one John Locke, in his chapter on BIAS.

The exact number of pirates slain, as certified by the Judge, and on which head-money was decreed, is five hundred. By adding to these all others, who are not known to have reached their homes, the total amount is brought up to about eight hundred.

Let me observe here, on the subject of head-money, which is now abolished, that I do not believe there is a man in the Navy who would not prefer its abolition to the imputation of taking a fellow-creature's life for money. While the law was in force, the payments for pirate service could be as honourably received as those for any other service ; but no professional man can regret that a ground of illiberal suspicion and reproach is taken out of

the way. The abolition of head-money, however, had been determined on, and the bill prepared, a year before Captain Farquhar's action. I may be allowed to refer to my "Expedition to Borneo" (vol. ii. p. 9), for one among the innumerable examples which exist of the manner in which British sailors treat their enemies, even when to leave a wound unstaunched might be worth twenty pounds. After being most wantonly attacked by two piratical prahns, and first making an example of them after another fashion, Lieutenant (now Commander) Wilmot Horton had every possible attention paid to the wounded, and restored them their boats ; upon which act of mercy there is, at page 78 of the same volume, a comment by Sir James Brooke, which I commend to Mr. Hume's attention. "I am sure," says he, "Lieutenant Horton acted rightly in sparing their lives and property ; for, with these occasional pirates, a severe lesson, followed by that degree of conciliation and pardon which shall best ensure a correction of their vices, is far wiser and preferable to a course of undistinguishing severity."

Here is enough to show what was the *principle* which my friend had in view, and of which he never lost sight in dealing with piracy. From this point, I purpose to set in order certain known facts and official documents, which will tell a simple history for themselves, and decide, I anticipate, the question at issue, whether as affecting Sir James Brooke, or any naval officer concerned therein. I shall still have occasionally to direct special attention to

the part taken by Sir James, in order more clearly to show that only a wilful blindness to the truth could select *him* for the odium, which Mr. Hume would fix upon operations not only necessary but merciful. "That these operations had become necessary," says Sir James Brooke, in a despatch to Lord Palmerston, "is a matter of regret; and it is to be regretted that, in consequence, an unavoidable loss of life occurred. The inevitable results of warfare, savage or civilised, are in theory to be deplored; but there is no reason to doubt that the active measures pursued, saved many *innocent* lives, and that in point of true humanity, it was far preferable to attack the people of Serebas than to allow *them* to continue their career of indiscriminate slaughter."

No reasonable person will question the soundness of such a conclusion generally, from such premises: and the premises have been proved in this particular case.

And now, if the history is to tell itself, it must be slightly retrospective: I will, however, only go back to the year 1824.

By a treaty signed in that year—*twenty-eight years ago*—between Great Britain and Holland, the sovereigns of the respective countries engage themselves to concur *effectually* in repressing piracy in the Eastern Seas—the evil having then long had a most baneful effect on commerce. That the said Sovereigns never *did* concur effectually to crush a confessed scourge is manifest. It would be foreign to my purpose to examine the complaints

of the Netherlands Government on this head. A perusal of De Groot's report inclines one to think that there is on the part of that government a sensitive jealousy of being assisted, even in such an object, which may have rendered it difficult "effectually to concur with them."

In 1847—that is, after allowing piracy a further lease of the Indian Archipelago for twenty-three years—the before-mentioned treaty being all that time waste-paper, but still existing—in 1847, I say, a treaty of friendship and commerce was signed between Her Britannic Majesty and the Sultan of Borneo, by the ninth article of which these Sovereigns unequivocally and solemnly "engage to use *every means in their power* for the suppression of piracy within the seas, straits, *and* RIVERS subject to their respective control and influence." By the tenth article of this treaty the Island of Labuan is ceded to Her Majesty for commercial purposes, including, of course, *protection* to commerce.

This treaty was sought, and this settlement was determined on, in compliance with urgent representations, as to the necessity of some such an establishment as "a terror to pirates," by the Liverpool, Glasgow, Manchester, East India and other great Commercial Chambers or Associations.

In 1847 Sir James Brooke was appointed Governor of Labuan and Consul-General and Commissioner to the Native and Independent Chiefs of the Indian Archipelago.

What is the meaning of this magnificent title? It is explained by a despatch from Lord Palmerston to His Excellency the said Consul-General, &c. &c., bearing date the 23rd February, 1848, thus:—

“ Your previous communications with this office will have already made you aware, that the OBJECT of Her Majesty’s Government, in conferring upon you the appointment which you hold, as regards the relations of Great Britain with the native and independent chiefs of Borneo, is to afford to British commerce that support and protection which, though needed in all foreign countries, is *peculiarly* required in the *Indian Seas*, in consequence of the prevalence of *PIRACY*.”

Thus we arrive at a point of time, at which we see Sir James Brooke selected by the British Government—obvious considerations presenting *him* as the fittest person—to assist, as Her Majesty’s representative, in giving effect to old treaties long neglected, and to new treaties concluded specially for the suppression of piracy. He is in that respect the servant of his Sovereign and of his country, with the simple duty imposed on him of obedience to his instructions, and he is instructed to *put down piracy* in the Indian seas.

And now our attention is directed to another class of Her Majesty’s servants, entirely independent of this Consul and Commissioner,—viz., the Naval service, and, as its moving spring, the “ Commander-in-chief in the East Indies and seas adjacent.”

Amongst *his* instructions is the following :—

“ You will employ the *force* under your orders *to the utmost in CHECKING PIRACY*, as well in the *Malayan Sea* as on the coast of China ; but you will much rather endeavour to check piracy among the islands of the Archipelago by a good understanding, and by enforcing the observance of treaties with the native chiefs, than by encouraging hostile operations, and expeditions of a coercive character.”

The particular officer on whom was imposed the duty of obedience to *these* instructions in the spring and summer of 1849, was Sir Francis Collier.

These instructions would involve the *following* duty, as connected with the subject we are discussing.

In the event of Sir James Brooke failing to secure for British commerce “ support and protection from piracy,” by diplomatic and peaceable influences with the Bornean chiefs, then—it being still his duty *to secure it*—he must do it by force ; and for that force he is to look to the naval Commander-in-chief in the Indian Seas.

On such an application being made to that officer, it became *his* duty, according to *his* instructions, first to satisfy himself that every proper effort had been made to effect the desired end ; and then, from the moment of his feeling so satisfied, to “ employ the *force* under his command *to the utmost in CHECKING PIRACY*.”

Neither Sir Francis Collier, nor any other commander-in-chief reading his instructions, and vigilant to perform his duty, was likely to be long ignorant of the piratical

character and deeds of the Serebas and Sakarran pirates on the coast of Borneo, considering that they had reached the pitch of daring now to be described, and that their effect on commerce and on all industrial pursuits had become such as is exhibited in the following passage. It is from the pen of Sir James Brooke himself. It would be as much waste of time to argue his title to be believed above Pengaren Miles Labuan, as it would be to compare their styles of writing.

“The piratical character of the Serebas pirates,” writes Her Majesty’s anti-piratical Commissioner, “is so notorious that the native laughs when he hears that it is doubted. The slaughters perpetrated, the vessels captured, the towns pillaged, the men murdered, the women and children reduced to slavery—the former to worse than slavery!—are proved and recorded facts. These, and such-like subjects are the common topics of conversation; the latest depredation of the Serebas is mentioned as the last horrid murder is mentioned in London. The first inquiry of the trader on arriving in port, is, whether the Serebas are at sea. The fisherman dares not follow his vocation; the land below the defences of each town lies uncultivated; districts, fertile once, are denuded of their population; trade destroyed; the shores rendered unsafe; rapine stalks abroad, and no community is strong enough to cope single-handed with the pirates. The effects on commerce may be imagined; the unscrupulous seek profit, in spite of danger, by dealing with the plunderers, and

the produce brought to market is fit for a pirate to sell, and for a felon to purchase."

Such being the state of things on the return of Sir James Brooke to Sarawak from England, whither he had gone as a private individual scarcely known, and whence he returned with a world-wide celebrity, *and*—which is more to our purpose—with a commission to put down piracy, by peaceful means, if possible, but in any case to put it down,—such, I say, being the state of things, the next document which claims our attention is a letter addressed by him to Lord Palmerston, bearing date the 13th September, 1848. From this it will be seen that he had given immediate attention to his responsible duties, and had already, from the magnitude of the evil, and the impotence or insincerity of the Sultan of Borneo, become convinced that nothing but a strong arm would enable him to be faithful to the trust reposed in him, or to answer the expectations of the commercial community, and of his Government.

SIR JAMES BROOKE TO VISCOUNT PALMERSTON.

" **MY LORD,**

" SARAWAK, Sept. 13th. 1848.

" I beg to inform your Lordship of my arrival at this place in Her Majesty's ship *Maander*, and of my purpose of sending to the river Sadong, in order to inquire into and expose an intrigue which the Rajahs of Bruné are carrying on, through a few of their adherents, with the piratical chiefs of the Serebas and

Sakarran rivers, with whom they have been holding a friendly communication for the purpose of acquiring power amongst them. To this line of conduct during my absence, and to the length of time which has elapsed since their last punishment, may be attributed the increasing boldness of these pirates, who now venture, as formerly, to cruise in large fleets of their war prahus, and commit fearful depredations on the more industrious and peaceful classes, both by sea and on the coasts. I propose, when the proper season returns, to request the aid of the naval officer in command to punish the inhabitants of these rivers ; and, in the meantime, I have addressed letters to the chiefs of the various places in their vicinity, to acquaint them that, if they encourage or hold communication with the pirates, they themselves will be accounted pirates, and punished. I am endeavouring to make a marked distinction between the piratical party and those who live by oppression and plunder, and the party which is faithful and sincere to the cause of good government ; and I entertain not the slightest doubt that, by pursuing a course of stringent measures, we shall be enabled thoroughly to subdue and humble these people, and eradicate their propensity for piracy. I will not here trouble your Lordship with the detail of the policy to be pursued towards the Sultan and Rajahs of Bruné ; but I may remark that, as good faith is not to be expected from so bad a government, I shall turn my attention solely to enforcing the due observance of the stipulations

of the treaty, more especially those articles which relate to the protection of commerce, and the suppression of piracy."

It will not be here out of place to prove beyond dispute, upon other evidence than his own, the fact that it was not Sir James Brooke's practice, nor his inclination, to decide precipitately on coercive measures: and this is independent of another consideration, always to be borne in mind,—that the Commander-in-Chief was practically interposed between any person in Sir James Brooke's position, and any precipitate resolution to which such a person might come; and that his discretionary power to refuse co-operation was absolute.

The predecessor of Sir Francis Collier on the same station was Sir Thomas Cochrane, from whose correspondence Mr. Hume quoted an isolated passage which he would persuade us is in opposition to the sentiments or practice of my friend. For instance: "The admiral 'informed' Sir James Brooke that much more was to be done for the repression of piratical habits among the tribes of the Bornean coast, by the spread of commerce and Christianity than by operations of a coercive nature." This "information" sounds valuable; but, separated from its context, it is really mere empty sound; and it seems to be Mr. Hume's peculiar *forte* so to quote everybody as to make everything they may say defeat itself. The great grievance is that *neither COMMERCE nor CHRISTIANITY can be spread until PIRACY shall have*

received a death-blow. *Then* is COMMERCE ready to come forth from her retreat, and to become gradually the means of *permanently* weaning the pirate from his ways ; and then is CHRISTIANITY ready to follow in her train : but Sir Thomas Cochrane could never mean to "inform" any man in his senses that a disease was only to be cured by a remedy, which could only be brought into existence after the disease *had* been cured—King Alfred might as well have "informed" his subjects that "more was to be done for the repression of wolves by the multiplication of sheep, and by making the wolves as tame as dogs, than by any operations of a decapitative nature." But Mr. Hume is generally unfortunate when he hangs on to a respectable authority : nobody of that stamp whom he quotes is found, on examination, really to go with him in this matter. Sir Thomas Cochrane, in a letter of which I shall give other portions according as they shall apply to the point under discussion, enables us in the following passage to judge whether Sir James Brooke would prematurely ask a Commander-in-Chief for the means of resorting to coercive measures. Thus writes Sir Thomas Cochrane :—"With regard to the attack upon the Serebas and Sakarran pirates, I derive my persuasion that the means were only resorted to as of absolute necessity, from the fact that either upon my first or second visit to Sarawak, having heard that those people were disturbing that settlement as well as other parts of the coast, *I offered to place a force at Mr. Brooke's disposal*, for the

purpose of bringing them to reason ; but, so far from hastily availing himself of my offer, he informed me that he was *trying by peaceful and gentle means* to lead them to a quiet and industrious life, and he *hoped not to have occasion to resort to coercion* ; but in which it would appear the result had not responded to his anxious wishes."

Mr. Hume really must not cite respectable witnesses from the spot : *their* stubborn practical "information" *must* capsize him.

And now I may cite the next despatch of Her Majesty's Commissioner for the suppression of piracy to the Head of the Foreign Office. It bears date, Sarawak, 6th March, 1849, and, after expressing a fear that "without some special arrangement made for the purpose, there will be little or no chance of being able to carry into effect his Lordship's instructions of the 23rd February, 1848, the writer proceeds as follows :—" I am particularly anxious to call your Lordship's attention to the present state of piracy in the immediate vicinity of Sarawak. The Serebas and Sakarran pirates, emboldened by the length of time which has elapsed since the attack made upon them by Captain the Honourable Henry Keppel, have once more left their rivers in formidable force, and have, for two months past, devastated the coast for upwards of one hundred miles ; numerous prahus have been captured at sea, the boats plundered, and the crews murdered ; several villages have been attacked and taken, and,

at the lowest computation, from 300 to 400 persons have been massacred by these ferocious marauders within this short period. It may afford your Lordship some idea of the formidable nature of their force when I state that only five days ago they were at sea with from 100 to 130 prahus, most certainly averaging thirty-five men to each prahu." (This is the piratical expedition of which I have given some details in Chapter VIII.)

Then follow some preventive suggestions, which it would be at present premature to quote ; after which Sir James Brooke concludes as follows :—" I need no longer dwell on this topic, as your Lordship will perceive the immediate and ultimate consequences of allowing a fierce horde of pirates to traverse the high seas, and to devastate the coasts. But I beg of your Lordship, in conclusion, to direct that such a naval force shall be employed as may enable us to strike a severe blow at the pirates, and subsequently to recommend such a vigorous system of superintendence, as may prevent the daily and yearly recurrence of such events as I have stated with deep regret."

On the same day Sir James Brooke addressed the Commander-in-Chief, in a letter of which the *Maunder* was the bearer. He received it in China about the 1st of April. It informed him that the pirates were at sea in force ; and after enumerating their atrocities, as in the despatch to the Foreign Office, it thus concludes :—" The entire coast is in alarm : trade is at an end : the very

fishermen are flying to the interior for safety: I will not disguise from you that both Captain Keppel's character and my own are compromised in native opinion," &c.

He states, in a subsequent despatch to Lord Palmerston, that "the necessity was so pressing at the time, and that it had become so urgent a duty to save the lives of innocent people, that he went out in native boats, until he was assisted by the steamer *Nemesis*, when he surprised the people of Serebas through the Kaluka river, with the object of keeping them in check, till a larger force should arrive," &c.

Thus the naval Commander-in-Chief received *information*—not *orders*—from Her Majesty's Consul at Labuan. He was his own judge of the necessity and propriety of taking any active measures in consequence of such information. He was his own judge as to the meaning and spirit of the instructions *he* had received from the Admiralty: and, therefore, were I to stop *here*, it is evident that Sir James Brooke must stand exonerated from any share in responsibilities which could not possibly be divided, but which must be borne by some one individual. There can no blame attach to Sir James Brooke for stating *facts* to the Commander-in-Chief for *his* information. If *he* decided that the facts disclosed called for armed intervention, *he* was accountable for this decision: and, in turn, the officer who received from him orders to execute is accountable for all that was done in execution of these orders. Where then can Sir James

Brooke's accusers bring him in? He was not the Commander-in-Chief—he was not the executive officer: true, he joined that officer, and co-operated with him; but let every one have his proper place, and there let each, in turn, be vindicated.

I am sure the unprejudiced reader has gone with me thus far; to admit—first, that the Commander-in-Chief did no more than his duty in despatching a man-of-war to the Bornean coast in the spring of 1849: and next, that the responsibility of everything which was done by that ship, or under the orders of its commanding officer, rests primarily with *his* professional superior, and, secondarily, with himself. That officer was Commander Farquhar, of H.M.S. *Albatross*. I will now give the instructions received by *him*; and if *he* did not exceed nor fall short of them, then is Commander Farquhar also free from blame.

" You are required, and hereby directed to put to sea in Her Majesty's sloop *Albatross*, under your command, and proceed to Labuan, and announce your arrival to His Excellency Sir James Brooke, Governor of that settlement; and in the event of his being absent at Sarawak, you will proceed off that coast to communicate with His Excellency.

" In consequence of a representation made to me by Sir James Brooke, that it is intended to make an attempt to DESTROY the *Serebas* and *Sakarran* pirates, between the present time and the month of July next, *you will afford His Excellency your assistance in carrying out THIS OBJECT.*

in which, from the force you will find at your disposal, there is no doubt you will be successful.

" You are at liberty to employ the Company's steam-vessels *Semiramis* and *Nemesis*, and Her Majesty's surveying-vessel *Royalist* in this service ; but you must take every precaution not to expose the men to needless danger, either from the climate or from the enemy.

" *Dated 8th day of April, 1849.*"

I need not recapitulate Captain Farquhar's proceedings in obedience to these orders. They are detailed by myself in Chapter IX. : the official reports of them have been laid before Parliament, and may be easily seen. I must not be supposed to have any feeling save regret at a sacrifice of human life ; but one thing is certain,—that if Captain Farquhar swerved at all from his orders, it was on the side of mercy ; for he was ordered to " *destroy* the Serebas and Sakarran pirates" — " to assist in *carrying out* this object :" and when 500 are slain or drowned, and all subsequent casualties swell the loss to 800 out of nearly 4000 pirates, the officer in command could scarcely report that he had acted *up* to his orders in " *destroying*," though he well knew that a discretion *so* exercised would not be questioned. That this signal chastisement was inflicted on such a piratical force, with scarcely a casualty on his side, is sufficient proof that Commander Farquhar most fully and laudably acted up to his orders to " take every precaution not to expose the

men to needless danger, either from the climate or from the enemy ;" nor is less credit due to him on this ground, although the circumstance be immediately attributable to the *panic* which seized the enemy ; inasmuch as, if an officer makes such arrangements for receiving an expected enemy, far outnumbering his own force, as to *produce* such a panic, the result in their total defeat without loss to himself is as much to his credit as any other operation of war can be. The practice of the great man whom the nation now mourns and honours was ever this,—to effect his purposes with the least possible sacrifice of his soldiers' lives ; nor will I waste a line upon those who make it a reproach to kill the viper without stinging oneself.

Commander Farquhar received the approval of his superiors in the most acceptable shape,—promotion ; to which was added the approval of the respective Heads of the Foreign and Colonial offices.

" You will inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve of this gallant and successful operation.

" Viscount PALMERSTON cannot but hope that the *energetic measures of repression*, and the prudent arrangements for future prevention, which are detailed in Sir F. Collier's despatch, will have the effect of affording to peaceful commerce in those quarters that security of which it has hitherto been deprived by the aggression of piratical fleets."

"Lord GREY has received with much satisfaction Commander Farquhar's report of his successful operations against these pirates."

I think I may say that this history has told *itself*; and that all concerned in the operations under discussion did no more than what "England always expects every man to do—his *duty*."

But where was the ferocious Rajah? and how many poor Dyak men, Dyak *women*, and Dyak *children* (for with such ferocities he is charged withal) did he really massacre? The very name of his prahu, *Singh Rajah* (Lion King) proves him to be a blood-thirsty anthropophagus.—This *is* just all the proof that can be found of his murderous performances. That he was on the scene, that he concurred in the necessity of what *was* done, is freely admitted; but it so happens for those who select him as *the* individual who especially "perpetrated the massacres" (Mr. Hume's words) that the position which he had taken up in the Kaluka river, and from which he did not stir until the morning after the action, confined *his* murderous operations to the firing of one signal rocket. Let the reader turn to page 156,—"He was in ignorance of what took place, and passed the night in exciting, though confident suspense." I may add that he was, on the day and night of the action, labouring under a severe attack of fever and ague, which would alone have incapacitated him from taking a prominent part. He was, I admit, equally responsible for anything done by *his orders*:

but it must not be forgotten that, besides the Sarawak Dyaks and Malays, whom he *could* in a great degree control, there accompanied the expedition volunteer auxiliaries from many other tribes, embittered against the pirates by continual wrongs. These it was not so easy completely to restrain ; and at *their* hands *may* have been committed in hot blood a few such excesses as are either common to all savage, or are characteristic of Dyak, warfare : for these, if any such occurred, neither Sir James Brooke nor Captain Farquhar can be blamed. It is well known that the former was urged by these native auxiliaries, on the morning after the action, to take such a position as would intercept all the fugitives, which might have been easily done ; but he rejected the proposal, and not only stopped the pursuit as soon as possible, but offered a reward for every prisoner taken alive. It is equally well known that all such prisoners were fed and well cared for, until released at a favourable opportunity ; that the Rajah afterwards received many tokens of gratitude from those who had been captives ; and that his humanity produced very beneficial effects upon the tribes chastised. Nor did this emanate from, or depend upon, any sudden impulse ; it was his *principle*, laid down before setting out,—“ Although piracy must be crushed at any cost, I am desirous of effecting its suppression at the smallest possible sacrifice of human life.” *

If, then, censure is to be passed upon any party, it

* Letter to Lord Palmerston, 18th April, 1849.

must commence much higher,—with the inventors of gunpowder, and grape, and rockets ; or at least, seriously, with the state department which gives out to the British navy these destructives, as munitions of war. Mr. Hume will, moreover, have to explain to Captain Farquhar, on the map which he has had lithographed,—and on which, to assist an impartial judgment, he conspicuously lays down the “ scene of the massacre,”—he must, I say, shew Captain Farquhar in what direction, after allowing the pirates to escape, he could have himself escaped from a certain awkward document, the repeal of which I am not aware that Mr. Hume ever proposed,* and which is therefore in full force, under the common title, “ ARTICLES OF WAR,—“ to be duly observed and put in execution,” says the preamble, “ as well in time of peace as in time of war.”

In the 13th clause of this Act we read as follows :—
“ Every person in the fleet, who, through cowardice, negligence, or disaffection, *shall forbear to pursue the chase* of any enemy, PIRATE, or rebel, *beaten or flying*, &c., shall suffer death.”

Such is at this moment, except as to a modification of the punishment, the law of the land : Commander Farquhar had accordingly to choose between two courses ; one, that would stigmatise him as “ cowardly, negligent,

* “ An Act for Amending, &c., the Laws relating to the government of His Majesty’s ships, vessels, and forces by sea, passed in the twenty-second year of the reign of King George the Second.”

or disaffected," (for the law *will* suppose some one of these motives), or a course of obedience to that law, though some individual senator might call it "massacre."

The following observations of Lord Palmerston are an excellent comment on the above clause :—

"When you are engaged with an enemy, until that enemy surrenders, until he asks for quarter and puts himself in your power, you continue hostilities ; and if you come up, you fire a broadside, whether with round shot or with grape ; but you continue your hostilities against the enemy with whom you are contending until he, by an act of his own, indicates that he surrenders and places himself in your power, and claims from you that forbearance which the laws of war, or in this case, if you please, the laws of the land, would entitle him to claim at your hands."

When I shall have added on this point the valuable testimony of Sir Thomas Cochrane, which entirely accords with all that I have seen myself, I think I may close my observations on the question of "undue severity."

"With regard" says that distinguished officer, "to the loss of life that attended the late attacks upon this people, it is proper I should acquaint your Lordship that it is impossible to give, and hopeless to expect quarter, when in action, from this singular people. They have such an extraordinary contempt for life, one would almost suppose they imagined that, on the loss of one, another would supply his place. A Malay, when irritated, would *kreese*

a roomful of people, although under the certain knowledge that he would immediately fall himself ; indeed, he would have no hesitation in concluding the tragedy by self-immolation. A fatal confidence in their possessing the feelings of ordinary men led to a catastrophe on board one of the ships under my command, by which some valuable lives were lost."

And these instructive observations on the peculiarities of the people are accompanied with the following peculiarities of their "murderer."

" I found him one of the most mild, considerate and single-minded men I ever met with ; and one who, in every conversation I had with him on the subject of Borneo, expressed himself in the terms of a father and friend to that people ; and I had ample opportunity of witnessing how entirely they responded to that feeling. It was singular and striking that on parts of the coast where I am certain that no European had been previously seen, almost the first word pronounced by the people was the name of Brooke."

Such being the general character of the man, and his every act during the expedition in question having been in perfect keeping with that general character—I will just add to those already recorded in their proper place one other proof from parliamentary documents, and then Mr. Hume and myself shall part company.

In a note addressed by Lord Palmerston to Sir James Brooke, bearing date the 10th March, 1850, his Lordship

requests to be informed of "the circumstances which led to the offer of rewards for the capture of Dyak women and children." The following is the reply of "murderer" Brooke :—

"I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship that for several years past rewards have been given for all prisoners made during the expeditions against the pirates, more especially in the case of women and children. The rewards alluded to in my despatch of the 1st of October, 1849, were paid to the captors of women and children taken during the expedition under Captain Farquhar, in order to prevent their putting captives to death, or reducing them to slavery. The women and children in question remained under my care for about two months, and were released on their relations coming to Sarawak to claim them.

"This mode of dealing with pirates has always been found to have a beneficial effect, and is calculated to introduce a humane system of warfare."

I know not how charges such as I have been dealing with can be more satisfactorily rebutted. Begin at whichever end we may, we are led without one defective step in the argument—that I can perceive—to the same conclusion. We see treaties entered into by Her Majesty's Government,—functionaries instructed to carry them out,—the precise means of doing so pointed out to them,—alternatives suggested—the milder recommended, but the stronger enjoined rather than longer toleration

of such an universal scourge as piracy. We see these last-mentioned means (the coercive) adopted only upon imperative necessity ; we see officers *then* performing *their* part merely as they were bound to do both by their special orders, and by the articles of war ; we see that, where they did exercise a discretion, it was on the side of mercy and forbearance, and to the sparing of many hundreds of lives, which they might easily and *profitably* have sacrificed. What part then of the charge is there remaining unrebutted ?

I have endeavoured, I hope successfully, to state this question, and to support my view of it, in a dispassionate and candid spirit, avoiding all flights of fancy, even, it may be, to an extreme of dulness. I can scarcely doubt my success so far that, if any of my readers shall have halted between two opinions, simply from want of information as to *facts*, *they* will now be enabled to perceive that never—since Governments existed, with superiors to judge and to direct, with subordinates to obey and *not* to *judge*,—never has a more unreasonable attack been made upon men doing their duty, than Mr. Hume's attack on the honourable and gallant men, civil and military, whose duty it has been to act against the Serebas and Sakarran pirates.

The particular individuals, whom the honourable member for Montrose, by holding them up as abettors of oppression and massacre, invites his country and the civilised world to execrate, are, as I have already observed, Admirals

Cochrane and Collier ; Captains Farquhar and Wallage ; Sir James Brooke, and myself ; nor do I see how those noble Lords can escape who, as the heads of the Foreign and Colonial offices, approved of what was done against these pirates, and even gave instructions what *should* be done.

This is also suggested by Mr. Hume himself. "Sir James Brooke," he says, "has, in his extraordinary acts, been associated with parties far more influential in Parliament than himself ; and he ought not to deceive himself in the belief that the attempt to *screen these* parties is an acquittal of him." It is a grave charge to bring against that high tribunal. Is the whole House of Commons degraded, whenever it cannot see with one man's eyes ? Some single member *might* vote to screen a friend : some half-dozen—nay some nineteen—*might* by possibility unite either to screen or to persecute : but when *two hundred and thirty* such persons, comprising the high-minded, the intellectual, the wise, and the good, are seen dividing *against* nineteen, we may be sure that such would no more screen a delinquent than they would countenance a persecutor.

One disagreeable circumstance to Sir James Brooke, arising from their discussions,—perhaps the most so—is that, in defending him against charges from which he never shrunk, his friends have unavoidably to hold him up as an object of praise, from which he does shrink with the sensitiveness of real merit. Indeed I feel that

apology is rather due to him than to my readers for the measure in which I have allowed *myself* an indulgence which, as a matter of feeling, is rather at his expense than for *his* gratification. I find myself, however, in good company ; and I will conclude the more personal part of this volume in the language of an individual never suspected, except by Mr. Hume, of giving an unconscientious vote, to "screen" either a political or a moral reprobate.

"The question at issue," says Sir ROBERT INGLIS, "is the character of one of the ablest, and most gallant, and most humane men, who ever exercised authority in the name of England in any part of the world ; and I feel it to be an honour to express my strong feeling in favour of such a man. I repeat that there never has appeared in the dependencies of England, in a distant part of the globe, one who did more honour to the name of England than the Rajah of Sarawak, Sir JAMES BROOKE ; and I am sure any one might feel it a privilege to call himself a friend of that distinguished man."

In the exercise of a right, which both this privilege and my professional experience seemed to confer on me, I have made this long digression, as an humble elucidator of the truth, and vindicator of one whom only truth would satisfy. Should I have failed, I am not the less convinced that, though the advocate be weak, the cause is strong, and will prevail. I can with sincerity disclaim all intentional offensiveness. Public speeches, public letters, public documents have been, according to my

perception and ability, fairly examined with reference to the *merits* of the case. Nothing new *could* be advanced ; but I am not aware that the old story has ever yet been put into this tangible and systematic shape. May it tend to confirm, and to universalise the confident verdict of that more distinguished defender of my friend and of the truth, Lord PALMERSTON :—

“ Sir James Brooke retires from this investigation with an untarnished character, and with unblemished honour : and I am persuaded that he will continue to enjoy the esteem of his countrymen, as a man who, by braving difficulties, by facing dangers in distant climates, and in previously unknown lands, has done much to promote the commercial interests of his country, and to diffuse the light of civilisation in regions, which had been before in the darkness of barbarism.”

CHAPTER XIV.

GENERAL REMARKS ON PIRACY—ITS ORIGIN, SOURCES OF GROWTH, AND DEVELOPMENT
—MEANS OF SUPPRESSION AND PREVENTION—ANCIENT AND MODERN PIRACY
SIMILAR IN ALL RESPECTS—ENGLAND'S DUTY AS TO THE POLICE OF THE EASTERN
SEAS—SARAWAK—NEW FACTS—OLD ARGUMENTS.

Up to this point, our observations on the subjects of piracy have been confined to the question of its existence in one or two particular rivers of Borneo, and to the inquiry whether the inhabitants of those rivers are different by nature, by education, or by habit, from all the other Malays and Dyaks in the world ; whether, in short, as it has been excellently asked by one able writer—and really the whole matter resolves itself into this—"whether the banks of the Serebas and Sakarran are a modern Arcadia, or a Moravian settlement,—whether their fleets are a mere Yacht Club, and their expeditions regattas." I have given *my* answer to this question ; and now, in my few additional remarks, I shall treat the subject more comprehensively, as one of immeasurable interest to the world at large. This is no exaggeration, in an age which is

one of political, social, commercial, and religious progress. It is indeed time that the navies of the Christian world should earnestly cooperate, shaking off indifference, sacrificing jealousies, until they shall have swept from every part of the highway of nations an evil, which is at once the impediment to civilisation and its reproach.

In the Dutch Report, to which I have more than once referred, England is charged with "reiterating protestations that she will faithfully execute the treaty of London, but—by her 'authorities at Singapore'—drawing back when it is proposed to act simultaneously." However this may have been, every European nation must feel that this is not an era, at which the common school-book of geography should have nothing more to say of the vast expanse comprised in the Indian Archipelago, than that it is "a world of piratical outrage and commercial peril." Neither is it an age in which the poet should find only a revolting paradox, where nature has been lavish of the sublime and beautiful—

"Glide we through Magellan's Straits,
Where two Oceans ope their gates—
What a spectacle awaits !

See—the vast Pacific smiles
Round ten thousand little isles,
Haunts of violence and wiles !"

Nor, lastly, is it an age, in which a mere casual visitor, like myself, to our great oriental emporium, Singapore, should be able to testify that he has many a time stood

on the landing-place, and seen the wounded survivors of some trading-vessel's crew borne away to the hospital,—miserable illustrations of pirate barbarity, and—we *must* therefore add—of civilised indifference! How else could these things be?

“It is known,” says the Dutch Resident at Riow—“the English themselves acknowledge it—that a vast number of these robbers find an asylum at Singapore itself, as well as in the neighbourhood. Singapore and Riow are both surrounded by pirates, and the very scum of the neighbouring populations. At the same time piracies are more deplorable and more frequent at Singapore than at Riow. The pirates of these latitudes obtain their powder and ball secretly from Singapore, and the booty captured is taken there privately, and sold at low prices, or exchanged for ammunition.”

If this be not a libel on our respectable settlement, it is surely a grave charge against ourselves. We have however lately made a beginning, and with results highly promising.

It is quite possible that severe examples may still occasionally be unavoidable, before so widely spread a system can be wholly disorganised: but the history of piracy from the earliest ages, as well as the most recent experience, warrants the assurance that, with the exercise of unremitting *vigilance*, severity would very soon be unheard of, from lack of subjects.

I have alluded to the early history of piracy. A

retrospective glance at it will not be without its use, as illustrating the following propositions :—

1. That piracy has always had a similar origin.
2. That it has always grown and flourished under similar circumstances.
3. That it has always required similar measures for its suppression ; and
4. Similar appliances for its permanent prevention.

Its *origin* has been OPPORTUNITY ; temptation in that shape, acting irresistibly on the natural depravity of man.

It has grown and flourished—first by impunity, or toleration, due to its early insignificance : then by acquiring a gradual, and at length a very tenacious hold upon the passions and the interests, not only of its original followers, but also of the very people who alone could check it.

It has been *suppressed*—never, save by the most RIGOROUS MEASURES.

It has been *permanently* extinguished by a combination with severity of humanising and profitable pursuits, as SUBSTITUTES.

1. Piracy, thus reviewed, beckons us back, even into the abyss of ages.

“Giant visions, crowding fast,
Rise in the moonlight of the shadowy past,
Where, through the mists of time, a silent throng,
The ghosts of mighty empires glide along.”

Among the ghosts are those of mighty PIRATE EMPIRES,—for they were nothing less,—seriously embarrassing, even for a time overshadowing, the Asiatic, the

Grecian, and the Roman *Governments*. And yet, without doubt, every formidable horde, which could at length spoil a principality or starve a nation, sprung from a single knave or a handful of knaves, conceiving the idea, that to rob a boat might be as profitable as to rob a house. Nature moulds the thief; opportunity and position make him a water-thief; the success of one invites the association of others; till at length the individual villain becomes the founder of a villainous community, of whom each encourages the other in the path of daring, of avarice, and of cruelty.

"Then forth they rush as with the torrent's sweep,
And deeds are done which make the angels weep."

In the intricacies of an ARCHIPELAGO especially, this has ever been the *natural* state of things. As surely as spiders abound where there are nooks and corners, so have pirates sprung up wherever there is a nest of islands, offering creeks and shallows, headlands, rocks, and reefs, —*facilities*, in short, for lurking, for surprise, for attack, for escape. The barbarous or semi-barbarous inhabitant of the Archipelago, born and bred in this position, is born and bred a thief. It is as natural to him to consider any well-freighted, ill-protected trading-prahu his property, as it is to the fishing eagle above his head to sweep down upon the weaker but more hard-working bird, and swallow what he has not had the trouble of catching.

But the *primitive incentives* to piracy are soon lost sight of in the *pleasurable excitement* which attaches to a

piratical life; and its primitive *limits* soon disappear in the numbers who are *attracted* to it, for the sake of sharing in its chances and its perils. The pirate is a *gambler* in several ways: he goes out under obligations for his equipment to some petty Prince or Chief; these obligations he can only procure the means of cancelling by desperate deeds. Speculation thus becomes his habit; and his life becomes the reckless life of a *desperado*,—not to supply the necessities of legitimate poverty, but to feed artificial and self-created requirements.

“At the end of the ‘monsoons,’ ” says Captain Kloff, “the pirates betake themselves to their haunts, and are occupied in dividing the spoils of the season. Then also they indemnify their avaricious accomplices for the advances they have made them, whether in stores or provisions. This period is to them a time of rejoicing; the day is passed in cock-fighting, the night in smoking opium: so that at the end of two or three days this booty, obtained with so much trouble, is dissipated, and they have to plan new acts of piracy.”

2. Here, then, is exposed *one* great element of *growth* in this evil, and indeed the chief source of its prosperity, and the chief obstacle to its suppression. Hatched, as it were, through neglect in not destroying the egg,—imperceptibly attaining strength until it becomes formidable to slay,—the reptile is at last *taken in hand* by the wise charmer, and turned to profit. Piracy is mainly fostered by the princes, the nobles, the chiefs, the petty sovereigns, who

have a deep interest in its maintenance. This system of connivance, amounting to partnership with the marauder, seems to have long furnished a plausible ground for treaties between the Dutch Government, and the various Sultans and Princes of the Archipelago. Signs of a selfish commercial policy are generally discernible in these documents: but on this we need not dwell. If, however, we bear in mind the simple fact that these Sultans and Princes are themselves no better than pirates, we may appreciate the advantage, or rather perceive the absolute necessity, of having some one to deal with them, in the furtherance of our plans for the suppression of piracy, who shall understand their character: indeed, the qualifications requisite for negotiating with, and acquiring an influence over, treacherous chiefs and savage people are neither few nor of a common kind; and hence I think it is easier to raise theoretical objections against "incompatible offices," "conflicting duties," &c., than to find any other man half so well qualified as the *present* Commissioner to represent the interests of humanity with the independent chiefs of Borneo. The personal qualifications and the peculiar position of Sir James Brooke, as Rajah of Sarawak, cannot be *combined* in any other person; while they remarkably fit *him* for a sphere of action in which an influence beneficial to millions may be exercised.

One—indeed the principal—task imposed upon the person in this position, is to shut up against the established piratical communities of the Archipelago an iniquitous

source of gain, and to divert their commerce into legitimate and peaceful channels. This alone is no light matter.

Piracy is, even in its mildest character, a *most* iniquitous source of gain ; but its abominations are aggravated, and have always been so, by the fact that the most profitable portion of the pirate's traffic is a trade in *slaves*. It is needless to observe upon the cruelties and horrors thus superadded to mere spoliation. It is well known what a bad eminence was attained by ancient Crete and Cilicia in this revolting commerce. They verified the remark before made, that it is opportunity and temptation which call into exercise this, as they do all other evil passions. By the conquests of Alexander a great opening was established for commercial intercourse between Greece and the countries westward on the one part, and Phœnicia and Egypt on the other : the positions of Crete and Cilicia, so favourable for intercepting merchant-vessels, converted gradually into pirates the entire coast-population of those countries ; independently of merchandise, the crews alone of captured ships were very valuable for sale in the slave markets. But the Cilicians, having once tasted blood, were not long content with a precarious supply from passing vessels : like their modern brethren, they would also land on any unprotected coast, and thence carry off men, women, and children, of whom the greater number found their way to Rome. For the supply of that luxurious city, ten

thousand slaves were often bought and sold on the same day—seized and transported from their homes by pirates : and it is worth noticing, that the mistress of the world had at length to send forth her greatest generals to *put down* a power which she had fostered for her own luxury, at the expense of principle and humanity.

Thus does the ancient historian continually “ point a moral, or adorn a tale ” for modern times. The Serebas and Sakarrans, the Lanuns, and other such communities of the present day, represent, as completely as differences of position enable them to do, their predecessors of the *Ægean* ; and it has been hitherto our reproach that those latitudes in which England’s should be the antagonistic influence, have furnished to *these* pirate-communities *their* “ Golden Sea.”*

But there has always been one other incentive to piracy, which, with some characters, is as potent as gold itself ; and that is the *honour* and distinction to which it leads. Honour among thieves is honour still ; and the daring and successful leader of a piratical attack upon a merchant-fleet, or a town worth pillaging, rises to an estimation among his fellows, which acts as a powerful stimulus to fresh adventures. “ Because I have only a single ship,” said one of this profession to Alexander, “ you call me a *pirate* ; if I had a fleet I should be a *hero*.” This was a good piece of sarcasm ; and it is certain at least that the

* This was the name given by the pirates of the *Ægean*, to the sea between Crete and Cyrene, and between the Piraeus and the promontory of Malla—now Cape Mallo—on account of the rich prizes which they met with there.

chiefs of piratical communities soon consider *themselves* heroes, and are honoured as such amongst each other. While then this is the case, there will always be a few audacious spirits, mainsprings of each distinct machine,—characters such as Byron and Cooper have invested with a false romance ;—and these are they on whom a moral, as well as an external, influence may be well exercised : there *is* often something really noble in their natures, giving hope that the highest principles of action and of forbearance may be implanted in their minds ; that they may be brought not merely to “cease to do evil,” but to “learn to do well,” and may become the little leaven that shall leaven the whole lump for good.

Such then are the elements of *growth and prosperity*, which have been common to piracy in every age.

3. And now for its **REMEDIES**. The same disease requires the same medicine—just varied in its mode of administration, to suit the particular subject.

“Piracy,” says the historian of Greece, “familiar and flourishing in the *Ægean* sea, from earliest history to the present day, patronised by sovereign power, by republics not less than by single tyrants, has never been *completely suppressed*, unless in short periods of **UNCOMMON VIGOUR AND VIGILANCE**, under the administration of the Roman power.”

We may pass over the failures, some total, some partial, which were experienced, even by the Roman arms, whenever *half measures* were resorted to against this formidable scourge. They defeated Muræna, they allowed

only an expensive victory to Servilius ; they utterly discomfited Mark Antony, who, taking with him, through contempt of the enemy, more chains than arms, saw his own crews return to Crete in his own vessels, loaded as prisoners with his own chains. Metellus followed him, with but questionable success.

The subjugation of piracy was reserved for POMPEY ; and high time was it to demolish a monument of misplaced tolerance, which had reached the pitch thus described by his biographer :—

“ The power of the pirates was arrived to such a height, that they had above a thousand good ships, well manned, and furnished with skilful pilots. They affected magnificence, and their ships glittered with gold and silver ; their oars were silvered over ; and the curtains of the cabins were of purple. If they went on shore, it was to feast themselves in the most sumptuous and costly manner ; and these entertainments were accompanied with concerts of music ; their insolence and depredations had risen to an excess beyond all imagination. They had taken above four hundred cities, and had plundered thirteen of the most famous temples in the world of all their riches : but their principal employment and delight was to insult the Romans, and humble the pride of Italy.* They

* When any one who was taken by them declared himself a Roman, they pretended to be frightened and to tremble ; and when they had a long while made him their sport, they placed a ladder on the side of their ship next the water, intimating to their prisoner that he was now at full liberty to leave the vessel, and go whithersoever he pleased ; and upon his declining the favour, they threw him overboard.

landed there, infested the main roads, and rifled the country-houses that were not far from the sea. But of all the mischiefs done by the pirates, that which occasioned most complaints at Rome was the scarcity and dearness of provisions,—a matter that always greatly affects the people. The multitude, therefore, were overjoyed at the proposal made by Gabinius to commission Pompey to clear the seas of those vermin."

These references to history supply the strongest of all arguments—namely, *facts*, to show, first—that on the same character of soil the same crop will always grow; and secondly, that it must be eradicated by the same means. I shall presently have occasion to quote from an able Oriental periodical, which, at the present day, specifies the *enhanced cost of all produce* as an argument for the suppression of piracy; and doubtless when the evil shall be appreciated in modern times, as the great POMPEY appreciated it, we may hope to see his sequel paralleled, and the Indian sea disengaged, as was the *Aegean*. Forty days sufficed for the great Roman to deliver from the monster PIRACY the three granaries of Rome,—Sicily, Sardinia, and the coasts of Africa; so that what the poet elegantly boasts for him is no more than true.

"Qui cum signa tuli toto fulgentia ponto,
Aste bis exactum quam Cynthia conderet orbem,
Omne fretum metuens pelagi pirata reliquit,
Angustaque domum terrarum in sede poposet."

Ere the full orb of CYNTHIA's pallid light,
Twice shew'd the Ocean with our standards bright,
The trembling pirate, scar'd from every sea,
Crouch'd for one narrow hiding-place to me.

Twenty thousand prisoners attested the vigour of the Roman commander's measures and their success. He pursued them home to every lurking place, gave them battle wherever they collected, besieged them wherever they took refuge: in short, his mission was to suppress, and he did not stop short of it. To those who take a real interest in the subject of these chapters, it will be manifest that these early records may be as usefully studied as any other parts of history. Many more such references might be made. Other European seas—the seas of the West Indies—of the East—of China—all might furnish illustrations of the position I have laid down, as to the origin, the source of growth, and of prosperity, and finally, the mode of suppressing piracy. We have just dwelt for a moment on the *most* remarkable example which exists: and the only attempts on our own part which have met with even a temporary success have been such as were, in a *very* small way, imitative of the uncompromising POMPEY. But Mr. Hume would no doubt have moved for an inquiry into the massacre of the Cretans and Cilicians.

4. I have but a word to say upon my remaining proposition, which was this—that, as piracy never has been and I think never will be put down, except by uncompromising DECISION, so its revival in the same localities can only be prevented by *humanising and profitable pursuits, as substitutes.*

Herein we have an advantage over the Roman subjugator, inasmuch as Christianity, commerce, manufacture,

agriculture, art, science, furnish in these days reasons and suggestions such as had not yet dawned on Rome: nor can I help pointing to SARAWAK as an example and an encouragement to the philanthropist, who would re-mould and humanise the barbarian. Of what has been there effected I shall say more hereafter; but even the *Roman* example does not entirely fail us here. "Pompey," says his biographer, "had in this expedition taken about 20,000 prisoners, and the question was how to dispose of them. He could not entertain the thought of putting them to death; and on the other hand, it was not safe to leave it in their power to renew the late mischiefs. He reflected that man is neither brutal nor unsociable; that violence is a view contrary to his nature, and may be changed by a change of *habitation* and *manner of living*, as even the fiercest of wild beasts are, by such methods, made tame. He resolved therefore to remove his prisoners far from the sea-coast into the inland parts, and there disperse them. He settled many in certain cities of Cilicia, which were almost deserted; and especially in Soli which had been lately ruined by Tigranes. It was afterwards called Pompeiopolis, from the name of its restorer. He likewise transplanted a considerable number of them into Achaia, and even into Italy." In short he placed them *beyond temptation*. I have in a preceding chapter referred to similar measures adopted by the Dutch in a few instances.*

* Caesar crucified the pirates he took, but without suppressing piracy.

It does not enter into my present task to discuss what *precise* measures, as lasting preventives, might be most effectually adopted in the Eastern Archipelago, after piracy shall have been put down. Christianity and civilisation must, of course sooner or later, take the highest places : but whether they can always lead, or must sometimes condescend to follow in the train of more immediately practical ancillaries, must depend on the characteristics of each country ;—for the national reformer must be a man of enlarged views, of personal character (in which respect at least I may be proud of my friend Sir James Brooke)—of judgment, patience, decision, courage, penetration ; I might have expressed it more briefly and better by saying that he must have the “wisdom which is from above.” But I refrain from these speculations, though not uninteresting, as well as from offering any suggestions of detail as to the best working means of *putting down* the calamity of the Archipelago : that means comparatively simple and inexpensive would succeed I feel convinced. I will now lay before the reader some well digested remarks on this subject, which appeared not long since in an ably conducted Singapore periodical.

The primary subject of its writer is the promotion of what are called “amoks,” to an instance of which singular oriental rage Sir Thomas Cochrane seems to refer in his letter, quoted in the preceding chapter. “The Malay tendency to run amok, or a-muck, as we commonly call it, is never likely to leave him,” argues the writer to whom

I refer, "so long as his practice is to go always armed : but until *piracy be suppressed*, he *must* go armed." The intelligent writer then proceeds to discuss this question in all its bearings. By way of a preliminary note I should have explained that the process of running amok, or a-muck, consists simply in a man's rushing about killing or wounding all within his reach, and at length frequently himself.

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" The first step, towards the prevention of amoks is the suppression, as far as is practicable, of robbery on land, and piracy at sea, to be followed by the abolition of the habit of private persons wearing weapons. While a Malay of Sincapore cannot set out on a voyage to the back of the island, to Johore or to Siak, without risk of being robbed and killed, he cannot go unarmed : and until he ceases to carry arms, and learns to trust for protection and vengeance to the Government under which he lives, there can be no security that, if subjected to misfortune, insult, or oppression, he will not run amok.

" The cost of the produce supplied by the Malays is so greatly enhanced by the necessity of protecting themselves on their voyages, that the employment of additional force by Government for the suppression of piracy, and the adopting of measures in concert with the native authorities, would soon shew a direct action on trade. Piracy raises the cost of all native produce brought to Sincapore ; it gives the bold a monopoly of carriage ; and obliges

them to go in larger numbers, and with a more expensive equipment than would otherwise be necessary.

“ Experience has shewn that the Malay chiefs of the Peninsula are quite willing to co-operate in the abolition of piracy ; but they require to be constantly pushed, directed and encouraged. It is only by engaging all the powers in the western part of the Archipelago to act in concert that effectual measures can be taken. The pirates must be tracked by a combination of information and action, until they find they can no longer carry with them the privacy, which at present renders their visits more unexpected than a thunder-storm, and which prevents the chain of their operations from being detected.

“ What is wanted is that Government be made practically conversant with the nature and operation of the evil, and with the necessity for a combination of *all* the governments exercising power in the Archipelago, to suppress this enormous crime. When they have made up their minds to this, there will be no difficulty in finding agents to procure the combination, and to organise and direct its power.

“ It may be said that the position of Great Britain in the Archipelago is not such as to require or even admit of her taking a part in any work of such wide extent. We assert that her position is such as to place her under the most positive and solemn obligation to undertake this work, to enable her to give the most effectual co-operation in it, and to render that co-operation indispensable. The police of every sea belongs to those nations whose vessels

traverse it, and who from their proximity to it have the power of organising a police. We may lay down the proposition still more broadly, by saying that every nation whose vessels use a sea are charged to aid in its police, in proportion to their means, and the advantages they derive from its use. The obligation to exertion increases with the means, and the means increase with proximity to the sea. It increases also with the advantages enjoyed, although this increase may be counterbalanced by the increase of difficulties arising from distance of position. Now, England derives more benefit from the use of the seas of the Archipelago than any other nation ; the proximity of her territories to the field of action is as great as those of Holland and Spain, her means of action far superior to those of the latter, and, in some respects, even to those of the former. Her obligations therefore to destroy the marauders who infest these seas are paramount. Is she justified in waiting till she is satisfied that other powers have performed their duty ? On the contrary, that superiority in intelligence, liberality, energy, and power, which Providence has conferred upon her, demand that in this work she shall take the lead ; not intermitting her strongest endeavours to excite her neighbours to do *their* duty, but going about her own in an earnest and determined manner, whether they prove zealous, lukewarm, or hostile.

" But England has certain peculiar advantages for the work. The Malay Peninsula is entirely under her

control. She has bound over the Dutch not to meddle with it. Now the peninsular side of the Straits of Malacca is the only navigable one, so that this exclusion has also given her the control of the Straits. There is not a Malay chief on either side of the long coast of the Peninsula, who would not comply with every reasonable request of the English Government, and much more ; and there is not one of their chiefs who does not at present, directly or indirectly, contribute to the maintenance of the slave-trade and piracy. By cutting off this source of support, one considerable blow would be struck. Our position on the north of Borneo enables us to take still more decisive measures, in cutting off from Bornean and Soloo pirates the support and countenance of the Soloo chiefs.

"The chiefs and communities, which are themselves piratical, must be compelled to be so no more ; that is to say, they must be visited pacifically, the determination of England communicated, and its reasons explained to them, her friendship and countenance offered, an obligation taken to abandon piracy,—and that obligation must thenceforth be enforced, at whatever cost, and any severity that may be necessary. Subsequent carelessness and lenity would be cruelty to the piratical communities themselves. Piracy is doubtless less reprehensible morally in those who have never been taught to look upon it as a crime, but that is no reason why every severity *necessary* for its extirpation should not be resorted to. A tiger is

even less reprehensible in this point of view than a professional pirate "to the manner born." But we must do what is necessary to prevent injury to others from piratical habits, before we can indulge in compassion for the pirate. Our sympathy must be first with the victims and the endangered ; with the murdered before the murderer, the slave before the slave-dealer."

These observations are worthy to close my chapter on PIRACY. They should do so, but that I cannot resist adding a word—not my own either—for each of the two different classes, who have argued, and who may again be called upon to argue the question of *serenity*—how far it is justifiable—advisable—salutary in effect. I have a few facts for the one class, and a few observations from no mean reasoner for the other.

In a letter just received by me, from my friend Captain Brooke, nephew of Sir James, dated 25th August, 1852, is the following passage :—"I wish you were here to command our expedition about to start for Serebas and Sakarran, though the object this time is peace, not war. The *Contest* is just come in from Labuan, and Captain Spencer, I believe, intends accompanying us, and manning our gun-boats with blue-jackets ; this will be very pleasant, and will give us an opportunity of trying the rate of our new gun-boat,—the first attempt at European ship-building in Sarawak. If you should come out again, you will find, I think, considerable changes in Borneo ; Sarawak is decidedly steadily advancing. The whole coast, from

having been one incessant scene of bloodshed, is now as safe as the British Channel ; as an instance of which, let me tell you that about three weeks ago a schooner from Sincapore was capsised at night in a squall, about forty miles to seaward of Tanjong Sirik. Out of ninety-two passengers, only twelve, including five Europeans, escaped in a leaky boat, without arms, food, or even decent clothing. They made the shore ; the natives received them, gave them clothes and food, and fitted out a large boat to bring them comfortably to Sarāwak : I need not tell you what their probable fate would have been, had they been thrown on this coast a few years ago. To the Rajah, to yourself, and Farquhar, these poor people owe their freedom, if not their lives."

Here is a recent fact, accidentally introduced into a private letter,—of which this subject is by no means the burden. Mr. Hume or any one else may see it. It gives proof of present sincerity, and hope of stability in those better feelings which began to be evinced even immediately after Captain Farquhar's expedition.

Of the piratical chiefs that came to Sarāwak to make their submission to the Rajah, several had never before seen Europeans. Friendly discussions took place, interesting stories and adventures were narrated. Thousands of natives, belonging to different powerful tribes and communities in Borneo, now look up to the Rajah of Sarāwak as the arbitrator of their wrongs and the dispenser of justice. Before this meeting, many tribes

that would have formed alliances with him dared not to do so, on account of their more powerful neighbours. Now all appeared to be of one opinion, and admitted the blessings that were likely to accrue from trade and friendly intercourse; and to mention one very remarkable change,—PEACE CONFERENCES between these very chiefs have since been held, on the very spot where the arrangements for the next piratical balla used to be discussed! No instance of any ill-will for injuries inflicted or received was heard of. None appeared to deny the justness of the severe lesson that had been inflicted: and instead of betraying any desire for revenge, which even more civilised people might have harboured for a time at least, all seemed to have merged every other feeling in one of respect for the Rajah of Sarawak. Surely these facts justify the intermeddling, if such it is to be designated, which brought about so happy a revolution. They justify—nay, they *enjoin* the adoption of any further measures that shall ensure its continuance; they even would justify at any time another like chastisement of any community which should relapse to its evil ways, and attempt to disturb the newly established reign of peace.

But finally—in case there may be any reader still shaking his dubious head, “on principle”—I will call in aid a sound reasoner on principle, even my Lord Bacon, whose sentiments I have been surprised not to see referred to by any of the able debaters who have advocated the cause of truth and reason.

As touching non-intervention, the following remarks appear to me striking and satisfactory :—

“ It is a great error, and a narrowness, or straitness of mind, if any man think that nations have nothing to do one with another, except there be either an union in sovereignty, or a conjunction in pacts or leagues. There are other bands of society and implicit confederations, above all there is the supreme and indissoluble consanguinity and society between men in general:” of which the heathen (whom the Apostle calls to witness) saith ‘we are all his generation.’ But much more we Christians, unto whom it is revealed in particularity that all men came from one lump of earth, and that two singular persons were the parents from whom all the generations of the world are descended,—we, I say, ought to acknowledge that no nations are wholly aliens and strangers the one to the other. Now if there be such a tacit league or confederation, sure it is not idle; it is against somewhat, or somebody: who should they be? Is it against wild beasts? or the elements of fire and water? No—it is against such routs and shoals of people, as have utterly degenerated from the laws of nature; as have in their very body, and frame of estate, a monstrosity; and may be truly accounted (according to the examples we have formerly recited) common enemies and grievances of mankind, or disgraces and reproaches to

* “ Sweet are the links that bind us to our kind,
Meek, but unyielding; felt, but undefin’d.”

human nature. Such people all nations are interested, and ought to be resenting, to suppress."

And as touching war against pirates, and who may urge it, the following passage is not easily answerable :—

" It was never doubted, but a war upon pirates may be lawfully made by any nation, though not infested nor violated by them. Is it because they have not *certas sedes, or lares?* In the piratical war which was achieved by Pompey the great, and was his truest and greatest glory ; the pirates had some cities, sundry ports, and a great part of the province of Cilicia ; and the pirates now being have a receptacle and mansion in Algiers. Beasts are not the less savage because they have dens. Is it because the danger hovers as a cloud, that a man cannot tell where it will fall,—and so it is every man's case ? The reason is good, but it is not all, nor that which is most alleged. For the true received reason is, that pirates are *communes humani generis hostes* ; whom all nations are to prosecute, not so much in the right of their own fears, as upon the band of human society.

" For as there are formal and written leagues, respective to certain enemies ; so is there a natural and tacit confederation amongst all men, against the common enemy of human society : so as there needs no intimation, nor denunciation of the war ; there needs no request from the nation grieved ; but all these formalities the *law of nature* supplies in the case of pirates. The same is the case of

rovers by land; such as yet are some cantous in Arabia, and some petty kings of the mountains, adjacent to straits and ways. Neither is it lawful only for the neighbour princes to destroy such pirates, or rovers, but if there were *any nation never so far off*, that would make it *an enterprize of merit and true glory* (as the Romans that made a war for the liberty of Graecia from a distant and remote part), no doubt they might do it."

END OF VOL. I.

EDWARD J.
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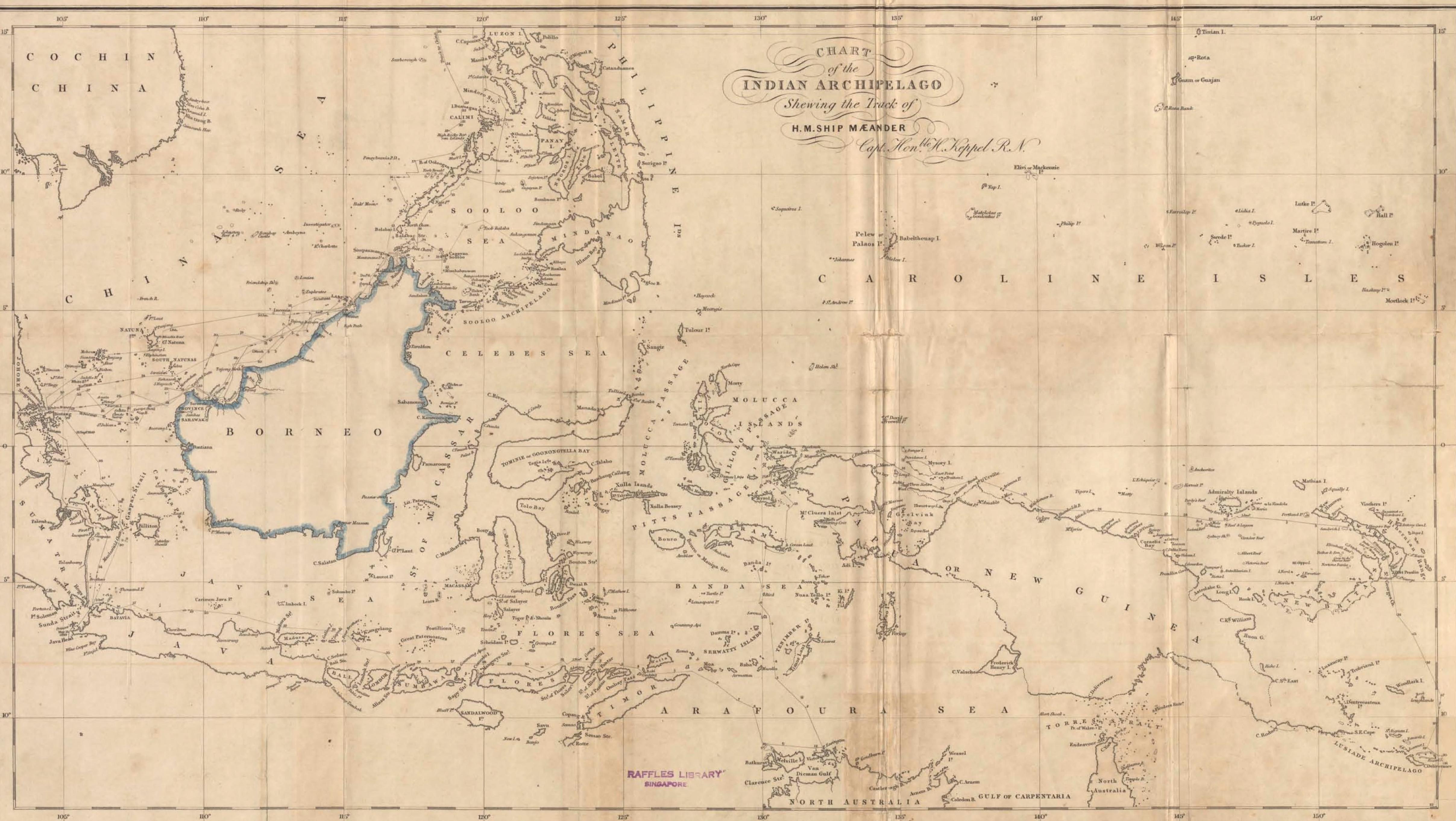
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